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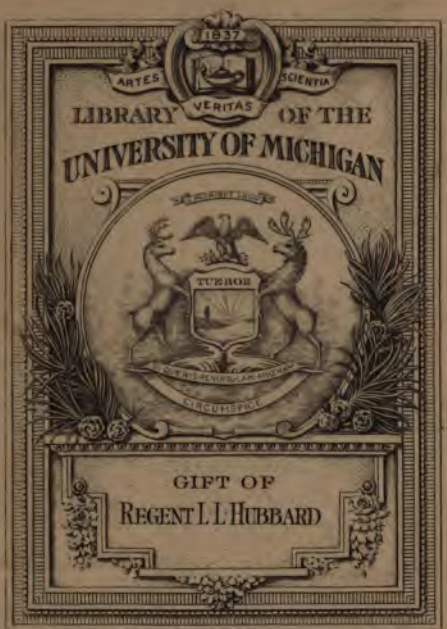

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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr JONATHAN SWIFT,

Dean of ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

Accurately corrected by the beſt editions.

WITH

The author's LIFE and CHARACTER,
NOTES hiſtorical, critical, and explanatory;
Tables of CONTENTS, and INDEXES.

More complete than any preceding edition.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

EDINBURGH:
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M,DCC,LVII.

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE of Dr JONATHAN SWIFT, Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin.

THE lives of eminent men have always been esteemed the most valuable part of history, both for entertainment and instruction. Accounts of such persons especially, as besides their merit, have been distinguished by any remarkable peculiarities of character or genius, justly command the public attention. There is a pleasure in seeing human nature displayed in a beautiful, but singular and uncommon view. We are fond of being introduced into a sort of acquaintance with such persons, which may compensate the loss of our not having been of the number of their contemporaries or friends. We peruse their works with much greater satisfaction when we know the man as well as the author.

FOR these reasons, no wonder that the public have shown so much desire to be instructed in all the particulars that relate to Dr Swift, and have received so readily every performance that promised them information of this kind. His character and manners, singular in every respect, awakened general curiosity. By his good sense and penetration, his public spirit, and his charities, eminent and estimable in a very high degree: by his peculiar and amazing genius for wit and ridicule, the wonder of the age in which he lived; by his caprices and oddnesses, reduced to the common level of mankind. A character of this kind, is more eagerly enquired into, and to the bulk of mankind more interesting than that of philosophers or heroes.

HAPPILY for the public, the materials for their informations as to Dr Swift's life and character are not inconsiderable. Lord Orrery's letters, and the essay on

the life, writings and character of Dr Swift, by Deane Swift, Esq; furniſh a variety of facts ſupported in general by good authority. The former writes with the ſeverity, and ſometimes the ſourneſs, of a critic; the latter with the attachment of a near relation. A volume of letters ſigned *J. R.* generally ſuppoſed to be written by Dr Delany, ſupplies ſome new materials. We have alſo preſerved to us by Deane Swift, Esq; a begun ſketch of the Doctor's life, compoſed by himſelf; but containing little more than an account of the family of the Swifts, and ſome few tranſactions of his younger years. From a compariſon of all theſe with each other; Mr Hawkeſworth has compiled that life of the Doctor which is prefixed to his late edition of his works in 1755. As this is the moſt accurate and beſt digeſted account we have ſeen, we have given it entire to our readers. Some omiſſions in it are ſupplied, and a variety of notes added, containing ſuch anecdotes, or different relations of the ſame fact as were worth preſerving. The whole of the ſketch compoſed by the Doctor himſelf, ſo far as it is in the leaſt intereſting, is inſerted in Mr. Hawkeſworth's relation. As Mrs Pilkington in her Memoirs has tranſmitted to us ſome little incidents in the Doctor's converſation and domeſtic life, not unentertaining, an abridgement of theſe is annexed. On the whole, nothing has been omitted that might ſerve to make our readers acquainted with all the characteriſtical peculiarities of this extraordinary perſonage.

N. B. In the references to be found in the life, *D. S.* ſtands for Mr Deane Swift's Eſſay on the life, writings, and character of Dr Jonathan Swift; *O.* for Orrery's remarks on the life and writings of Dr Jonathan Swift; *J. R.* for J. R.'s Obſervations on Lord Orrery's Remarks, generally ſuppoſed to have been written by Dr Delany; and *Letter to S.* Letters from the Dean to Stella, mentioned by Mr Swift, but not publiſhed. The other references relate to the volumes of this edition.

November 1757.

Dr JONA-

DR JONATHAN SWIFT was descended from a younger branch of an antient family of that name in Yorkshire. But the account of his family shall be as short as possible; since, (as Lord Orrery observes), though his ancestors were persons of very decent and reputable characters, [and the elder branch of the family ennobled], he himself has been the herald to blazon the dignity of their coat. Bernam Swift, Esq; otherwise called *Cavaliero Swift*, a gentleman of great wit and humour, who, in the reign of K. James I. possessed the paternal estate, was on the 20th of March 1627, by K. Charles I. created a Peer of Ireland, by the title of *Lord Viscount Carlingford*, though it is said he never went into that kingdom. He died without male issue; and the family-inheritance descended to his daughters; one of whom married Robert Fielding, Esq; commonly called *Handsome Fielding*, and the other the Earl of Eglington. Fielding soon dissipated his wife's patrimony; and that of her sister being transferred to the family of Lord Eglington, the principal estate of the Swifts was divided from the name for ever.

ONE of the younger branches from the same stem was Sir Edward Swift, who distinguished himself by his attachment to the royal cause in the war between King Charles I. and his parliament, from whom there is no descendent of the name.

ANOTHER of the younger branches was the Rev. Mr Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, Herefordshire, with which he also held another ecclesiastical living.

His father William Swift, rector of St Andrew's in Canterbury, married the heiress of Philpot; who contrived to keep her estate, which was very considerable, in her own hands. She is said to have been extremely capricious and ill-natured, and to have disinherited her son Thomas, an only child, merely for robbing an orchard when he was a boy. But however this be, it is certain, that except a church or chapter lease, which was not renewed, Thomas never possessed more than 100 l. a-year. This little estate, which lay at Goodrich, in Herefordshire, he mortgaged for 300 broad pieces; and having quilted them into his waistcoat,

waiſtcoat, he ſet out for Ragland caſtle, whither King Charles I. had retired after the battle of Naſeby, in 1645. The Governor, who well knew him, aſked what was his errand? "I am come," ſaid Swift, "to "give his Majeſty my coat;" at the ſame time pulling it off, and preſenting it. The Governor told him pleaſantly, that his coat was worth little. "Why then," ſaid Swift, "take my waiſtcoat." This was ſoon found to be an uſeful garment by its weight; and it is remarked by Lord Clarendon, that the King received no ſupply more ſeaſonable or acceptable than theſe 300 broad pieces during the whole war, his diſtreſs being then very great, and his reſources cut off. The zeal and activity of this gentleman for the royal cauſe expoſed him to much danger, and many ſufferings. He was plundered more than thirty times by the parliament's army, was ejected from his church-livings, his eſtate was ſequeſtered, and he was himſelf thrown into priſon. His eſtate however was afterwards recovered, and part of it ſold to pay the money due on the mortgage, and ſome other debts; the remainder, being about one half, deſcended to his heir, and is now poſſeſſed by his great-grandſon, Deane Swift, Eſq; *

THIS Mr Thomas Swift married Mrs Eliſabeth Dryden, of an antient family in Huntingdonſhire, ſiſter to the father of the famous John Dryden the poet; by whom he had ten ſons and four daughters. He died in 1658; and of his ſons, ſix ſurvived him, Godwin, Thomas, Dryden, William, Jonathan, and Adam.

THOMAS was bred at Oxford, and took orders. He married the eldeſt daughter of Sir William D'Avenant; but dying young, he left only one ſon, whoſe name alſo was Thomas, and who died in May 1752, in the 87th year of his age, rector of Puttenham, in Surrey, a benefice which he had poſſeſſed ſixty years.

GODWIN

* The grandmother of this gentleman, one of the wives of Godwin Swift, was heireſs to Adm. Deane, one of the Regicides; whence *Deane* became a Chriſtian name in the family.

GODWIN was a barriſter of Gray's inn; and William, Dryden, Jonathan, and Adam, were attorneys.

GODWIN having married a relation of the old Marchioneſs of Ormond, the old Duke of Ormond made him his attorney-general in the palatinate of Tipperary in Ireland. Ireland was at this time almoſt without lawyers, the rebellion having made almoſt every man, of whatever condition, a ſoldier. Godwin therefore determined to attempt the acquiſition of a fortune in that kingdom; and the ſame motives induced his four brothers to go with him. Godwin ſoon became wealthy; and the reſt obtained ſomething more than a genteel competence; though Dryden and Jonathan, who died ſoon after their arrival, had little to bequeath.

JONATHAN at the age of about three and twenty, and before he went to Ireland, married Mrs Abigail Erick, of Leiceſterſhire †. The family of this lady was deſcended from Erick the Foreſter, who raiſed an army to oppoſe William the Conqueror; by whom he was vanquiſhed, and afterwards made commander of his forces. But whatever was the honour of her lineage, her fortune was ſmall; and about two years after her marriage, ſhe was left a widow with one child, a daughter, and pregnant with another; having no means of ſubſiſtence but an annuity of 20 l. which her huſband had purchaſed for her in England, immediately after his marriage.

IN this diſtreſs ſhe was taken with her daughter into the family of Godwin, her huſband's eldeſt brother; and, on the 30th of November 1667, about ſeven months after her huſband's death, ſhe was in Hoy's alley, in the

† This lady was greatly beloved and eſteemed by all the family of the Swifts. Her converſation was extremely polite, chearful, and agreeable. She was of a generous and hoſpitable nature, very exact in all the duties of religion, attended the public worſhip generally twice a-day, was a very early riſer, and was always dreſſed for the whole day at about ſix o' clock in the morning. Her chief amuſements were needle-work and reading. She was equally fond of both her children, notwithſtanding ſome diſagreements that ſubſiſted between them. *D. S. p.* 22. 23.

the parish of St Warburgh, Dublin, delivered of a son, whom she called Jonathan in remembrance of his father, and who was afterwards the celebrated Dean of St Patrick's. [*D. S. p.* 22.]

Of all the brothers of Mrs Swift's husband, Thomas excepted, Godwin only had sons; and by these sons she was subsisted in her old age, as she had been before by their father and their uncles, with such liberality, that she declared herself not only happy, but rich. [*D. S. p.* 23.]

It happened, by whatever accident, that Jonathan was not suckled by his mother, but by a nurse, who was a native of Whitehaven: and when he was about a year old, her affection for him was become so strong, that finding it necessary to visit a relation who was dangerously sick, and from whom she expected a legacy, she found means to convey the child on shipboard, without the knowledge of his mother or his uncle, and carried him with her to Whitehaven. At this place he continued near three years; for when the matter was discovered, his mother sent orders not to hazard a second voyage till he should be better able to bear it. The nurse however gave other testimonies of her affection to Jonathan: for, during his stay at Whitehaven, she had taught him to spell; and when he was five years old, he was able to read any chapter in the Bible. [*O. let.* 1.]

Mrs Swift, about two years after her husband's death, quitted the family of Mr Godwin Swift, in Ireland, and retired to Leicester, the place of her nativity: but her son was again carried to Ireland by his nurse, and replaced under the protection of his uncle Godwin. [*O. let.* 1.]

It has been generally believed, that Swift was born in England; a mistake to which many incidents besides this have contributed. He had been frequently heard to say, when the people of Ireland displeased him, "I "am not of this vile country, I am an Englishman;" and would insist, that he was stolen from England when a child, and brought over to Ireland in a band-box. Mr Pope also, in one of his letters to him [in vol. 4. p. 189.] mentions England as his native country. But whatever

whatever the motives were that prevailed on Dr Swift to ſpeak in this manner, they were not borrowed from any ſort of contempt which he had ſecretly entertained againſt Ireland conſidered merely as a nation, but rather proceeded from ſeveral other ſources, which will appear afterward. [*D. S. p.* 26.] This account of his birth is taken from that which he left behind him in his own hand-writing; and while he lived, he was ſo far from ſeriouſly denying or concealing his being a native of Ireland, that he often mentioned, and even pointed out the houſe in which he was born.

HE has alſo been thought by ſome to have been a natural ſon of Sir William Temple: a miſtake which was probably founded upon another; for till the publication of his letter to Lord Viſc. Palmerſton, among his poſthumous works, [in vol. 4. p. 238.] he was thought to have received ſuch favours from Sir William as he could not be ſuppoſed to beſtow upon a perſon to whom he was not related, and but diſtantly related to his wife †. However, ſuch a relation between Sir William and the Dean appears beyond contradiction to have been impoſſible; for Sir William Temple was reſident abroad in a public character from the year 1665 to 1670, firſt at Bruſſels, and afterwards at the Hague; as may be proved by his letters to the Earl of Arlington, and the reſt of the miniſtry: ſo that Dr Swift's mother, who never croſſed

† In the year of the revolution, his uncle Godwin Swift had fallen into a kind of lethargy, or dotage, which deprived him by degrees of his ſpeech and memory, and rendered him totally incapable of being of the leaſt ſervice to his family and friends. But, in the midſt of this diſtreſsful ſituation, as if it was ordained that no incident ſhould bereave mankind of ſuch a genius, Sir William Temple (whoſe lady was related to Dr Swift's mother) moſt generouſly ſtept in to his aſſiſtance, and avowedly ſupported his education at the univerſity of Oxford. Acts of generoſity ſeldom meet with their juſt applauſe. Sir William Temple's friendſhip was immediately conſtrued to proceed from a conſciouſneſs, that he was the real father of Mr Swift; otherwiſe it was thought impoſſible, that he could be ſo uncommonly munificent to a young man, no wiſe related to him, and but diſtantly related to his wife. I am not quite certain, that Swift himſelf did not acquieſce in the calumny. Perhaps, like Alexander, he thought the natural ſon of Jupiter would appear greater than the legitimate ſon of Philip. *Q. Iſt.* 2.

croſſed the ſea, except from England to Ireland, was out of all poſſibility of a perſonal correſpondence with Sir William Temple, till ſome years after her ſon's birth; who, as before obſerved, was born in 1667. [*O. let.* 1.]

At about the age of ſix years [1673] he was ſent to the ſchool of Kilkenny; and having continued there eight years, he was at the age of fourteen [1681] admitted into the univerſity of Dublin, and became a ſtudent in Trinity college. There he lived in perfect regularity, and obeyed the ſtatutes with the utmoſt exactneſs. But the moroſeneſs of his temper often rendered him very unacceptable to his companions; ſo that he was little regarded, and leſs beloved: and he was ſo much depreſſed by the diſadvantages of his ſituation, deriving his preſent ſubſiſtence merely from the precarious bounty of an uncle, and having no other object of hope but the continuance of it *, that he could not reſiſt the temptation to neglect many neceſſary objects of academic

* While Swift was at the univerſity, one day as he was looking out of his window, penſive and melancholy, his pockets being then at the loweſt ebb, he ſpied a maſter of a ſhip gazing about in the college-courts. Lord, thought he, if that perſon ſhould now be inquiring and ſtaring about for my chamber, in order to bring me ſome preſent from my couſin Willoughby Swift, what a happy creature ſhould I be! He had ſcarce amuſed himſelf with this pleaſing imagination, when behold the ſhipmaſter having come into his chamber, aſked him if his name was Jonathan Swift? who having told him it was; Why then, ſaid the other, I have ſomething for you that was ſent to you by Mr Willoughby Swift. Whereupon he drew out of his pocket a large greaſy leather bag, and poured him out all the money that it contained on the table. As this ſum was greater than ever Swift had been maſter of at any one time before, he puſhed over, without reckoning them, a good number of the ſilver cobs (for it was all in that ſpecie) to the honeſt ſailor, and deſired he would accept of them for his trouble. But the ſailor would not touch a farthing. No, no, Maſter, ſaid he, I'ſe take nothing for my trouble; I would do more than that comes to for Mr Willoughby Swift. Whereupon Mr Swift gathered up the money as faſt as he could, and thruſt it into his pocket: for, by the Lord Harry, ſaid he when relating this ſtory, I was afraid if the money had lain much longer upon the table, he might have repented his generoſity, and taken a good part of it. But from that time forward, he declared that he became a better œconomiſt, and never was *without ſome little* money in his pocket. *D. S. p.* 54. 55.

mic ſtudy, to which he was not by nature much inclined, and apply himſelf wholly to books of hiſtory and poetry; by which he could, without intellectual labour, fill his mind with pleaſing images, and for a while ſuſpend the ſenſe of his condition *. The ſacrifice of the future to the preſent, whether it be a folly or a fault, is ſeldom unpuniſhed; and Swift ſoon found himſelf in the ſituation of a man who had burned his bed to warm his hands; for, at the end of four years, in the 1685, he was refuſed his degree of Bachelor of Arts for inſufficiency, and was at laſt admitted *ſpeciali gratia*, which is there conſidered as the higheſt degree of reproach and diſhonour. It is (ſays Lord Orrery) a kind of diſhonourable degree; and the record of it, notwithſtanding Dr Swift's preſent eſtabliſhed character throughout the learned world, muſt for ever remain againſt him in the academical regiſter at Dublin †.

BUT upon Swift this puniſhment was not ineffectual. He dreaded the repetition of ſuch a diſgrace as the laſt evil that could befal him, and therefore immediately ſet about to prevent it as the principal buſineſs of his life. During ſeven years from that time he ſtudied eight hours a day [*J. R. p.* 50.] and by ſuch an effort of ſuch a mind ſo long continued, great knowledge muſt neceſſarily have been acquired. He commenced theſe ſtudies at the univerſity in Dublin, where he continued them three years, till 1688; and during this time he alſo drew the firſt ſketch of his Tale of a Tub. ‡.

* He held logic and metaphyſics in the utmoſt contempt, and ſcarce conſidered mathematics and natural philoſophy, unleſs to turn them into ridicule. *Orrery, let.* 1.

† Ambition could ſcarce have met with a ſeverer blow. Hercules found himſelf ſet aſide for want of ſtrength, or, if admitted among the wreſtlers, admitted only by favour and indulgence; yet ſtill he muſt be conſcious that he was Hercules. Diſappointments, the earlier they happen in life, the deeper impreſſion they make upon the heart. Swift was full of indignation at the treatment which he had received in Ireland, and therefore reſolved to purſue his ſtudies at Oxford. *Orrery, let.* 1.

‡ Waſſendon Warren, Eſq; a gentleman of fortune near Belfaſt in the north of Ireland, who was chamber-fellow with Dr Swift, declared, that he then ſaw a copy of the Tale of a Tub in Swift's own hand-writing. *D. S. p.* 31.

IN 1688, when he was about twenty-one, and had been ſeven years at the college, his uncle Godwin was ſeized with a lethargy, and ſoon after totally deprived both of his ſpeech and his memory. As by this accident Swift was left without ſupport, he took a journey to Leiceſter, that he might conſult with his mother what courſe of life to purſue. At this time Sir William Temple was in high reputation, and honoured with the confidence and familiarity of K. William. [*D. S. p.* 33. 34.]. His father, Sir John Temple, had been Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, and contracted an intimate friendſhip with Godwin Swift, which continued till his death; and Sir William, who inherited his title and eſtate, had married a lady to whom Mrs Swift was related. She therefore adviſed her ſon to communicate his ſituation to Sir William, and ſolicit his direction what to do. This advice, which perhaps only confirmed a reſolution that Swift had ſecretly taken before he left Ireland, he immediately reſolved to purſue.

SIR William received him [in 1690] with great kindneſs, and Swift's firſt viſit continued two years. Sir William had been ambaſſador and mediator of a general peace at Nimeguen before the revolution. In this character he became known to the Prince of Orange, who afterwards when King frequently viſited him at Sheen, and took his advice in affairs of the utmoſt importance. Sir William being then lame with the gout, Swift uſed to attend his Majeſty in his walks about the garden; who admitted him to ſuch familiarity, that he ſhewed him how to cut aſparagus after the Dutch manner, and once offered to make him a captain of horſe. [*D. S. p.* 108.] Swift appears to have fixed his mind very early upon an eccleſiaſtical life; and it is therefore probable, that, upon declining this offer, he obtained a promiſe of preferment in the church; for in a letter to his uncle William Swift, dated in 1692, [in vol. 4. p. 197.] he ſays, "I am not to take orders till "the King gives me a prebend."

SIR William becoming ſtill more infirm, and wiſhing to retire farther from London, bought an eſtate at Farnham in Surrey, called *Moorpark*, whither he was accompanied

accompanied by Swift. About this time a bill was brought into the houſe for triennial parliaments; againſt which the King, who was a ſtranger to the Engliſh conſtitution, was very averſe, by the advice of ſome weak people, who perſuaded the Earl of Portland, that Charles I. loſt his crown and life by conſenting to ſuch a bill. Upon this occaſion the Earl was by the King diſpatched to Moorpark, for Sir William's advice; who ſaid much to ſhew him the miſtake, but without effect; and therefore he ſoon afterwards diſpatched Swift to Kenſington, with the whole account in writing, to convince the King and the Earl how ill they were informed. Swift, though he was then very young, was yet well acquainted with the Engliſh hiſtory, and gave the King a compendious account of the matter, which he amplified to the Earl. But the meaſure was at laſt rejected; and thus ended Swift's firſt embaſſy to court, ſo much to his diſſatisfaction, that he then declared it was the firſt incident that helped to cure him of vanity. Soon after this tranſaction he was ſeized with the return of a diſorder which he had contracted in Ireland by eating a great quantity of fruit; and upon this occaſion returned thither by the advice of his phyſicians, who hoped that his native air would contribute to the recovery of his health. But from this journey he received no benefit; and therefore in a ſhort time returned to Sir William, being ever afterwards ſubject to that giddineſs, which gradually increaſed, though with irregular intermiſſions, till it terminated in total debility of body and mind *.

But he was ſtill indefatigable in his ſtudies; and to prevent the loſs of health in the acquiſition of knowledge, by the want of bodily exerciſe, it was his conſtant practice to run up an hill that was near the houſe

* To this ſurfeit (ſays Lord Orrery) I have often heard him aſcribe that giddineſs in his head, which, with intermiſſions ſometimes of a longer, and ſometimes of a ſhorter continuance, purſued him till it ſeemed to compleat its conqueſt, by rendering him the exact image of one of his own Struldbruggs, a miſerable ſpectacle, devoid of every appearance of human nature, except the outward form. [vol. 2. p. 212.]

and back again every two hours. The diſtance backwards and forwards was about half a mile, and he uſed to run it in about ſix minutes. [*D. S. p.* 272.] By what books his ſtudies were principally directed, cannot certainly be known. But ſeveral copious extracts from Cyprian, Irenæus, Sleidan's Commentaries, and Padre Paolo's hiſtory of the council of Trent, were found among his papers, which appear, by memorandums in his own hand-writing, to have been made while he lived with Sir William Temple. [*D. S. p.* 276.]

ABOUT a year after his return from Ireland, he thought it expedient to take his degree of Maſter of Arts at Oxford. With this view he appears to have written to his uncle William Swift, to procure and ſend him the teſtimonium of his Bachelor's degree. With this teſtimonium, which is dated May 3. 1692, he went to Oxford; where having received many civilities, he was admitted *ad eundem* June 14. and took his Maſter's degree July 5. following.

IT has been ſaid, that the civilities which he received at Oxford, proceeded from a miſunderſtanding of the phraſe *ſpeciali gratia*, which was there ſuppoſed to be a compliment paid to uncommon merit. [*D. S. p.* 30. 44. *O. let.* 1.] But theſe words are not to be found in that copy of the teſtimonium which is entered in the congregation-book at Oxford *; and not to have inſerted them there, when they were thought a compliment, would have been an affront. It is therefore probable, that, by the influence of Swift's uncle, they were omitted in the copy which he procured and ſent; eſpecially as ſome ſuch favour ſeems to be intimated in Swift's letter to him, [in vol. 4. p. 197.] after he had received it: "I am ſtill," ſays he, "to thank you for *your care* in "my teſtimonium; and *it was to very good purpoſe, for* "I was never more ſatisfied than in the behaviour of "the

* The certificate of his degree is as follows.

Omnibus quorum intereſt ſalutem. Nos præpoſitus ſociique ſeniores Collegii Sacro-ſanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis juxta Dublin, teſtamur JONATHAN SWIFT *die decimo quinto Februarii* 1685 *gradum Baccalaureatûs in artibus ſuſcepiſſe, præſtito prius fidelitatis erga Regiam Majeſtatem juramento; quod de prædicto teſtimonium, ſubſcriptis ſingulorum*

"the univerſity." The civilities which he received at Oxford might indeed proceed from his known connection with Sir William Temple; but he might reaſonably impute them alſo to the ſuppreſſion of a reproach againſt which there was good reaſon to fear this connection would not have ſupported him: nor is it ſtrange, that Swift, after his reputation was eſtabliſhed, ſhould, while he was ſporting with this incident in the gaiety of his heart, pretend a miſtake which never happened, or that what he meant as a jeſt upon the univerſity, ſhould be ſeriouſly remembered as an event of his life.

IT has alſo been ſaid, that, upon his diſgrace at Dublin, he reſolved to purſue his ſtudies at Oxford, where he almoſt conſtantly reſided during three years, and was avowedly ſupported by Sir William Temple. [*O. let.* 2.] ‡ But the contrary is inconteſtably true; for there are not quite two months between the date of his teſtimonium, and his taking his Maſter's degree. Beſides, in the letter to his uncle juſt mentioned, he ſays, "I am "aſhamed to be more obliged in a *few weeks* to *ſtrangers*, than in *ſeven years* to Dublin college †." [vol. 4. p. 197.]

lorum nominibus, et collegii ſigillo quo in hiſce utimur, confirmandum curavimus. Datum die tertio Maii 1692.

ROB. HUNTINGTON *Præpoſ.* L. S.
ST GEORGE ASHE.
RICH. READER.
GEO. BROWN.
BEN. SCROGGS.

Quibus in venerabili congregatione magiſtrorum regentium 14 *die Junii* 1692 *habitâ publicatis,* JONATHAN SWIFT *(gratiâ priùs petitâ et conceſſâ) ad eundem gradum, ſtatum, et dignitatem, admiſſus fuit, apud Oxonienſes, quibus inſignitus erat apud ſuos Dublinienſes.*

10 *Nov.* 1753.
vera copia
RIC. RAWLINSON.

JONATHAN SWIFT, M. A.
Hart Hall, July 5. 1692.
D. S. p. 43. 44.

‡ See the note, above, p. xi.

† He went to college, at the age of fourteen, in 1681; continued there ſeven years, as appears by his letter; ſo that he did not leave Ireland,

FROM Oxford he returned again to Moorpark, where he aſſiſted Sir William Temple to reviſe his works ‡, corrected and improved his Tale of a Tub, and added the digreſſions. From the converſation of Sir William, who was minutely acquainted with all the intricacies of party, and the ſecrets of ſtate, during the reigns of K. Charles II. and K. James II. Swift greatly increaſed his political knowledge. But having long ſuſpected Sir William of neglecting to provide for him, merely that he might keep him in his family, he at length reſented it ſo warmly, that, in 1694, a quarrel enſued, and they parted, [vol. 4. p. 199.]

IT is probable that Swift did not leave Sir William for ſuch a reaſon without ſevere expoſtulation, not only becauſe Swift was no reſpecter of perſons, but becauſe it appears that Sir William, though he was extremely angry, admitted his claim to ſome proviſion, by offering to make him his deputy as Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland. This offer however Swift did not accept; but replied, that ſince he had now an opportunity of living without being driven into the church for ſupport, a ſcruple which had hitherto kept him out of it, he was determined to go into Ireland and take orders.

SWIFT, during his reſidence with Sir William, had never failed to viſit his mother at Leiceſter once a-year; and his manner of travelling was very extraordinary. He always went on foot, except the weather was very bad; and then he would ſometimes take ſhelter in a waggon. He choſe to dine at obſcure alehouſes among pedlars and hoſtlers, and to lie where he ſaw written over the door, *Lodgings for a penny*; but he uſed to bribe the

Ireland till 1688. He was ſome months with his mother before he went to Sir William, and two years with him before he went to Ireland for his health, which muſt therefore be in 1691. He returned from Ireland, and continued ſome time longer with Sir William before he went to Oxford; which muſt therefore be in 1692: and in that very year he took his degree. The fact therefore which, Lord Orrey ſays, was immediately conſtrued to favour an opinion that Swift was Sir William's natural ſon, appears never to have happened. *Hawkeſ.*

‡ Swift tranſlated for Sir William his letters out of the original *French into Engliſh. D. S. p. 99.*

the maid with a teſter for a ſingle bed and clean ſheets. He delighted (ſays Lord Orrery) in ſcenes of low life. The vulgar dialect was not only a fund of humour for him, but I verily believe was acceptable to his nature; otherwiſe I know not how to account for the many filthy ideas and indecent expreſſions (I mean indecent in point of cleanlineſs and delicacy) that will be found throughout his works †.

In this manner he went down to his mother upon his leaving Sir William, and from Leiceſter he wrote a letter, dated June 1694, [in vol. 4. p. 194.] to his couſin Deane Swift, then at Liſbon; in which he relates his quarrel with Sir William, and declares his purpoſe to

† When Swift was a young man, he was prodigiouſly fond of rambling, even before his pocket could afford the common expences of a journey: and therefore we cannot but applaud his manner of travelling; ſince travel about he certainly muſt, or elſe die of the ſpleen. Oxford, Dublin, London, Moorpark, and Leiceſter, were at various times the places of his abode; but Leiceſter in particular, during his mother's life, he commonly viſited once a year, let his general reſidence have been where it would. In ſhort, upon his own feet he ran like a buck from one place to another. Gates, ſtiles, and quickſets, he no more valued than if they had been ſo many ſtraws. His conſtitution was ſtrong, and his limbs were active.—His company in thoſe flights were, I believe, all ſorts of people which he met in towns and villages where he chanced to refreſh himſelf; ſome chat for an hour, and again to the fields. His imagination was always alive, and perhaps beyond all others he had a power to conciliate his ideas to the ſeveral capacities of all human race, and at the ſame time catch entertainment to himſelf from every ſpecies of underſtanding; agreeable to what is ſaid in that panegyric on the Dean written in the perſon of a lady in the north of Ireland.

Whene'er you joke, 'tis all a caſe
Whether with Dermot, or his Grace;
With Teague O Murphy, or an Earl,
A Ducheſs or a kitchen-girl.
With ſuch dexterity you fit
Their ſev'ral talents with your wit,
That Moll the chambermaid can ſmoke,
And Gahagan take ev'ry joke. vol. 6. p. 380.

However, the Doctor hath often told his friends, that whatever money he ſaved by this manner of travelling, he conſtantly threw it away, as ſoon as he went to London, upon a fine waiſtcoat, or ſome additional gaiety upon a ſuit of cloaths. *D. S. p.* 99. 100, 1.

to take orders in the September following, wiſhing he could procure for him the chaplainſhip of the factory.

WHAT was the effect of this letter, is not known; but Swift ſoon after obtained a recommendation (ſuppoſed to be from Sir William Temple) to Lord Capel, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, who gave him the prebend of Kilroot, in the dioceſe of Connor, a northern diſtrict, worth about 100 l. a-year *, But Sir William, who had been uſed to the converſation of Swift, ſoon found that he could not be content to live without him; he therefore urged him to reſign his prebend in favour of a friend, and promiſed to obtain preferment for him in England, if he would return †. Swift conſented; and Sir William was ſo much pleaſed with this act of kindneſs, that during the remainder of his life, which was about four years, his behaviour was ſuch as produced the utmoſt harmony between them. Swift, as a teſtimony of his friendſhip and eſteem, wrote the battle of the books, of which Sir William is the hero; and Sir William, when he died, left him a pecuniary legacy, (ſuppoſed to have been about 500 l.) and his poſthumous works.

WHAT other favours he received from Sir William, cannot certainly be known. Swift acknowledged none but his ineffectual recommendation to K. William; and he is known to have received frequent remittances from his uncle William, and his uncle Willoughby Swift: ſo that

* Swift ſoon grew weary of this preferment. It was not ſufficiently conſiderable, and was at ſo great a diſtance from the metropolis, that it abſolutely deprived him from that kind of converſation and ſociety in which he delighted. He had been uſed to very different ſcenes in England, and had naturally an averſion to ſolitude and retirement. He was glad therefore to reſign his prebend in favour of a friend, and to return to Sheen, &c. *Orrery, let.* 2.

† This appears by a letter from Swift's ſiſter, then in Ireland, to her couſin Deane in Portugal, dated May 26. 1699. "My poor bro-"ther" (ſays ſhe) "haſt loſt his beſt friend Sir William Temple, who "was ſo fond of him whilſt he lived, that he made him give up his "living in this country to ſtay with him at Moorpark, and promiſed "to get him one in England: but death came in between, and has "left him unprovided both of friend and living." *D. S. p.* 66.

that Sir William does not seem to have treated him with a liberality for which it is difficult to account.

UPON the death of Sir William Temple, Swift applied by petition to K. William for the first vacant prebend of Canterbury or Westminster, for which the royal promise had been obtained by his late patron, whose posthumous works he dedicated to his Majesty, to facilitate the success of this application. But it does not appear, that, after the death of Sir William, the King took the least notice of Mr Swift *. His petition and dedication were equally neglected †; and after a fruitless attendance at court, which probably increased the austerity of his temper, he accepted an invitation of the Earl of Berkeley, who had been appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, to attend him as chaplain and private secretary. It might reasonably have been hoped, that although he had been disappointed of the preferment for which he solicited, yet the employment to which he was invited would have been secure. But it happened, that after he had acted as secretary during the whole journey to Dublin, one Bush found means to insinuate to Lord Berkeley, that the post of secretary was not fit for a clergyman; and his Lordship suffered himself to be so easily convinced of this impropriety, that after making some apology to Mr Swift, he appointed Bush secretary in his stead ‖.

THIS

* The promises of kings are often a kind of chaff, which the breath of a minister bloweth, and scattereth away from the face of a court. Swift's petition had no effect. It was either totally forgotten, or drowned amidst the clamours of more urgent claims. From this first disappointment, may probably be dated that bitterness towards kings and courtiers, which is to be found so universally dispersed throughout his works. *Orrery, let.* 3.

The Earl of Rumney, who professed much friendship for Mr Swift, promised to second his petition; but as he was an old, vitious, illiterate rake, without any sense of truth or honour, he said not a word to the King.

† What then was to be done? Honour, or, to use a properer word, pride hindered him from staying long in a state of servility and contempt. *Orrery, let.* 3.

‖ Here was another disappointment, and a fresh object of indignation. The treatment was thought injurious, and Swift expressed his sensibility of it in a short, but satirical copy of verses, intitled, *The Discovery*. *Orrery, let.* 3.——See vol. 7. p. 134.

THIS diſappointment was ſoon after followed by another. It happened, that the deanery of Derry became vacant, and it was the Earl of Berkeley's turn to diſpoſe of it. Yet whatever atonement was due to Swift for his Lordſhip's late breach of engagement, the ſecretary having received a bribe †, the deanery was given to another, upon pretence that Swift, who was then more than thirty years old, was too young ‡; and

† I have been told, that upon the Secretary's being offered 1000 l. for the deanery of Derry, he would not conclude the bargain, but kept it in reſerve, until he had acquainted Swift with the propoſal he had received: which after he had done, he made him the offer of the deanery for the like ſum. But Swift told him plainly, that he thought he had nothing to do with eccleſiaſtical preferments, and rejected his overture with all imaginable diſdain. *D. S. p.* 113.

‡ The rich deanery of Derry was intended for Swift by Lord Berkeley, if Dr King, then Biſhop of Derry, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Dublin, had not interpoſed: intreating with great earneſtneſs, that the deanery might be given to ſome grave and elderly divine, rather than to ſo young a man; "becauſe" (added the Biſhop) "the ſituation of Derry is in the midſt of Preſbyterians, and I "ſhould be glad of a clergyman who could be of aſſiſtance to me. "I have no objection to Mr Swift. I know him to be a ſprightly "ingenious young man; but inſtead of reſiding, I dare ſay, he will "be eternally flying backwards and forwards to London; and "therefore I intreat, that he may be provided for in ſome other "place."——Swift was accordingly ſet aſide on account of *youth*; but, as if his ſtars had deſtined to him a parallel revenge, he lived to ſee the Biſhop of Derry afterwards ſet aſide on account of *age*. That prelate had been Archbiſhop of Dublin many years, and had been long celebrated for his wit and learning, when Dr Lindſay the Primate of Ireland died. Upon his death, Archbiſhop King immediately made claim to the primacy, as a preferment to which he had a right from his ſtation in the ſee of Dublin, and from his acknowledged character in the church. Neither of theſe pretenſions were prevalent. He was looked upon as *too far advanced in years* to be removed. The reaſon alledged was as mortifying as the refuſal itſelf. But the Archbiſhop had no opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment, except to the new Primate Dr Bolter, whom he received at his own houſe, and in his dining-parlour, without riſing from his chair, and to whom he made an apology, by ſaying, in his uſual ſtrain of wit, and with his uſual ſneering countenance, "My Lord, I am certain your Grace will forgive me, becauſe, *you* "*know, I am too old to riſe.*" *Orrery, let.* 3.

Whether or no Dr King, who was at that time very deſervedly in high reputation, although deſcended from the meaneſt of the people, [being the ſon of a miller], was afraid of being eclipſed by the ſupe-

rior

and he received inſtead of it the two livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin, in the dioceſe of Meath, which together did not amount to half the value of the deanery *. The firſt of theſe rectories was worth about 200 l. and the latter about 60 l. a-year; and they were the only church-preferments that Dr Swift enjoyed till he was appointed Dean of St Patrick's, in 1713. [*O. let.* 3.]

WHILST Swift was chaplain to Lord Berkeley, his only ſiſter, who was of a middle ſize, finely ſhaped, rather beyond what is called the agreeable throughout her whole perſon, was polite and well bred, with at leaſt a good ſhare of underſtanding, and at that time worth 300 l. by the conſent and approbation of her uncles and relations, accepted a propoſal of marriage from a tradeſman, whoſe fortune, character, and ſituation were eſteemed, by all her friends, ſuitable for her in every reſpect. He was reputed to be worth five thouſand pounds. Having communicated this propoſal to her brother, and finding him utterly averſe from entertaining the moſt diſtant thoughts of it, ſhe began to remonſtrate to him in the way of reaſon, (for the match was by no means very deſirable in her own breaſt), that ſhe could not ſupport herſelf on her 300 l. On which her brother aſſured her, that he would never ſee her want the neceſſaries or the conveniencies of life; and as a further proof to convince her that his regards were truly affectionate and ſincere, he promiſed to ſettle upon her 500 l. being all he was then poſſeſſed of in the world, the very hour he ſhould get ſome benefice in the church, which he daily expect-

ed,

rior luſtre of this young aſpiring genius, who was in all reſpects, notwithſtanding that he agreed with the Biſhop in affairs eccleſiaſtical, a man of a quite different caſt and manner of thinking, I ſhall not preſume to determine. However, it is by no means improbable, that Swift's prodigious talents, which appear throughout his whole life to have been dreaded by all his contemporaries, not excepting even thoſe miniſters, who were deſirous to have the honour of being ranked among his beſt friends, had a greater ſhare in obſtructing his promotion to the deanery of Derry, than perhaps any ſilly, trifling objections againſt his youth and ſprightlineſs. *D. S. p.* 114.

* As Swift did not receive theſe livings till after the deanery was given to another, his non-reſidence could not, as Lord Orrery ſuppoſes, be the reaſon why it was not given to him. *Hawkeſ.*

ed, provided she would reject this overture of marriage with a proper disdain. But the match having taken place, notwithstanding her brother's remonstrances, it was entirely disagreeable to him. It seemed to interrupt those ambitious views which he had long since formed. He grew outrageous at the thoughts of being brother-in-law to a tradesman. He utterly refused all reconciliation with his sister, nor ever would listen to the intreaties of his mother, who came over to Ireland, under almost a certainty of pacifying his anger; having, in all other respects, ever found him a dutiful and obedient son. But his pride was not to be conquered; and Mrs Swift, finding her son inflexible, hastened back to Leicester, where she continued till her death. However, his sister's marriage proved in the end very unfortunate. The husband was an old, tyrannical, vitious rake; and with regard to his 5000 l. he was scarce worth half so much on the day he was married. After he had two or three children, he broke and died, leaving his family in very deplorable circumstances. Mr Swift upon this event acquainted his sister by message, (for he would never be so far reconciled as to see her face), that he would allow her 20 l. a-year during her life, provided she would live in England, but not otherwise. She accordingly went to England, where she constantly received her annuity till her death. [*D. S. p.* 101.—104. *O. let.* 3.]

In 1699, Swift had like to have burnt the castle of Dublin, and Lord Berkeley in the midst of it. For the Doctor, whose bedchamber was the next room to his Excellency's, having grown drowsy over his book while he was reading in bed, dropt asleep without extinguishing his candle; which happened to fall upon his quilt, set it on fire, and burnt its passage quite through the bed-cloaths, until it reached his thigh. Swift roused by the pain, leaped out of bed, and extinguished the fire, which by this time had burnt part of the curtains. He took care to have the damages repaired; and by throwing away some guineas in hush-money, the accident was never made known in the castle. [*D. S. p.* 112.]

As Swift had refused a commission under King William, and a secular employment under Sir William Temple, it appears, that his attachment to a religious life, however

however early and however ſtrong, was not the effect of temporary views, but of zeal for the ſucceſs of the great work in which he was about to engage, and a conſciouſneſs of his own ability to acquit himſelf with advantage. That religious purpoſes were at this time predominant in his mind, he uſed frequently to declare; he hoped, he ſaid, that, by diligent and conſtant application, he ſhould ſo far excel, that the ſexton might ſometimes be aſked on a Sunday morning, "Pray, does the Doctor "preach to-day?" And when, after having taken poſſeſſion of his livings, he went to reſide at Laracor *, he gave public notice, that he would read prayers on every Wedneſday and Friday; a labour which he would not have brought upon himſelf, if he had been principally concerned about the value of his dues, which had been long before cuſtomarily paid for much leſs ſervice. [*J. R. p.* 40. 41.]

THE duties of the church, which he thus rendered more frequent, he performed with the utmoſt punctuality, and the moſt rational devotion. He was indeed devout, not only in his public and ſolemn addreſſes to God, but in that tranſient act of adoration, which is called *ſaying grace*, and which generally conſiſts only in a mutter and a bow; in which the ſpeaker appears to compliment the company, and the company each other.

* As ſoon as the Earls of Berkeley and Galway had been ſucceeded in the government by the Primate and the Earl of Drogheda, which happened, I think, ſomewhat about a year after his being preſented to the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin, poor Swift, half in deſpair of any further preferment, gallops down to Laracor; where ſolitude, retirement, the fanning of leaves, and the warbling of birds, threw him into ſome kind of reveries, more ſuitable, if any ſtreſs can be laid on the general opinions of the world, to the gravity and ſedateneſs of an older divine, than to that abundant ſprightlineſs and fire which animated the ſoul of this young, vigorous, uncommon, heteroclite genius. Perhaps it may be thought exceedingly ſtrange by thoſe who admire Swift only for his wit and politics, that immediately after he had gone to reſide in the country, he ſhould begin to reflect, that he was intruſted with the cure of ſouls. But Swift was really a man of high religion, without grunting, groaning, canting hypocriſy, or making wry faces. And ſure it is, that in proportion to thoſe talents, which he is allowed to have poſſeſſed in the moſt eminent degree, he beat all his contemporaries many thouſands of leagues in the race of Chriſtianity. *D. S. p.* 115. 116.

Swift always uſed the feweſt words that could be uttered on the occaſion; but he pronounced them with an emphaſis and fervour which every one around him ſaw and felt, and with his hands claſped in each other, and lifted to his breaſt. And it is hoped, that thoſe who can no otherwiſe emulate the character of Swift, will attempt it in this act of religious decorum, and no longer affect either to be wits or fine gentlemen, by a conduct directly contrary to ſo great an example.

But Swift, with all this piety in his heart, could not reſiſt the temptation to indulge the peculiarity of his humour when an opportunity offered, whatever might be the impropriety of time and place.

On the firſt Wedneſday after he had ſummoned his congregation at Laracor, he aſcended his deſk, and having ſat ſome time with no other auditor than his clerk Roger, he roſe up, and, with a compoſure and gravity that upon this occaſion was irreſiſtibly ridiculous, he began, "Dearly beloved Roger, the ſcripture moveth you "and me in ſundry places;" and ſo proceeded to the end of the ſervice *. [*O. let.* 3.]

During Swift's reſidence at Laracor, he invited to Ireland a lady whom he has celebrated by the name of *Stella*. With this Lady he became acquainted while he lived with Sir William Temple. She was the daughter of his ſteward, whoſe name was *Johnſon*; and Sir William, when he died, left her 1000 l. in conſideration of her father's faithful ſervices. At the death of Sir William, which happened in January 1698-9, ſhe was in the ſixteenth year of her age †; and it was about two years afterwards, that, at Swift's invitation, ſhe left England, accompanied by her friend Mrs Dingley, a Lady who

* What a glorious prieſt would he have been, to reform the young and ſprightly from the extravagance of their ways? But, alas! that amazing capacity, ſo continually rolling over with torrents of wit and humour, was by no means adapted to the ſolemnity of a country-pariſh, or to the conſolation of old women. *D. S. p.* 117.

† Mr Deane Swift ſays 18; but it appears by the poem on her birth-day in 1718, that ſhe was then but 34. The Dean ſays ſhe was in Ireland from 18, in his introduction to *Bons Mots de Stella*, in vol. 4. p. 295. *Hawkeſ.*

who was fifteen years older, and whose whole fortune, though she was related to Sir William, was no more than an annuity of 27 l. [*D. S. p.* 85. 86. 90.] Whether Swift at this time desired the company of Stella as a wife or a friend, is not certain; but the reason which she and her companion then gave for their leaving England, was, that in Ireland the interest of money was high, and provisions were cheap. It appears, however, that other reasons were suspected in the neighbourhood of Moorpark: for Mr Thomas Swift, the rector of Puttenham, in a letter, dated Feb. 5. 1706, inquires "whether Jonathan was married, or whether he had "been able to resist the charms of both those gentle-"women who marched from Moorpark to Dublin, with "a resolution to engage him †?" [*D. S. p.* 86. 87.] It appears too, that Swift, if he did not address her himself, yet contrived to break off a treaty of marriage with another, by persuading her to insist upon terms with which the gentleman could not comply ‡. But

 what-

† The beauty and gracefulness of Mrs Johnson's person had been remarked by Swift about two years before Sir William Temple's death, but never, we may be sure, had he made her the least advances. I am inclined however to think, that having observed her to be a delightful girl, and of a genius quick and lively, he had given her some instructions for the improvement of her mind in those happy years of docility, when the soul is apt to receive all the finest impressions; which, like seed thrown upon a rich and fertile soil, might have prejudiced her inclinations to have a tenderness for him. *D. S. p.* 85. 86.

‡ Dr Swift made no addresses to this charming fair upon her first arrival in Ireland, when she was in the prime of her life, and splendor of her beauty. However, the gracefulness of her person, and the politeness of her conversation, were not to be resisted by a gentleman of wit and learning, who was an intimate friend of the Doctor, and with whom she had frequently conversed. This gentleman declared his passion, and made her proposals of marriage. —Mrs Johnson discovered no repugnancy to the match; but still she would be advised by Dr Swift. The Doctor, perhaps loth to be separated from so delightful a companion, threw an obstacle in the way that was not to be surmounted. The gentleman had a benefice in the church of a considerable value about 100 miles from Dublin, which required his attendance. Dr Swift, in order to bring matters to a final issue, made him an overture, that he should settle upon his wife 100 l. a-year for pin-money. The lover indeed,

whatever was Swift's attachment to Mrs Johnſon, every poſſible precaution was taken to prevent ſcandal. They never lived in the ſame houſe. When Swift was abſent from Laracor, Mrs Johnſon and her friend reſided at the parſonage; when he returned, they removed either to the houſe of Dr Raymond, vicar of Trim, a gentleman of great hoſpitality, and Swift's intimate friend, or to a lodging provided for them in the neighbourhood: neither were they ever known to meet but in the preſence of a third perſon. [*D. S. p.* 90.] Swift made frequent excurſions to Dublin, and ſome to London: but Mrs Johnſon was buried in ſolitude and obſcurity; ſhe was known only to a few of Swift's moſt intimate acquaintance, and had no female companion except her friend Mrs Dingley, who was by all accounts a very inſipid companion *.

IN 1701, Swift took his Doctor's degree; and in 1702, ſoon after the death of King William, he went to England, for the firſt time after his ſettlement at Laracor; a journey which he frequently repeated during the reign of Queen Anne. Mrs Johnſon was once alſo in England

deed, though extremely captivated with the charms of his miſtreſs, was by no means delighted with this propoſal; he deſired, however, that he might have a night's time to conſider of it. And the next morning, contrary to expectation, he agreed to the terms. Swift, never at a loſs for ſome uncommon flight of imagination, inſiſted further, that he ſhould live in Dublin, and keep a coach for his wife. The gentleman had more honour than to promiſe what he could not perform; and ſo the match was broken off. *D. S. p.* 87. 89.—See Lord Orrery's account of this lady, and of Dr Swift's correſpondence with her, in vol. 4. p. 291. in the notes.

* This courſe of life, ſo very ſingular in a fine woman, abſtracted Mrs Johnſon in a great meaſure from the converſe of her own ſex. She lived, I cannot abſolutely ſay by her own choice, wholly in the circle of books and men: a life ſo unnatural to the ſweetneſs and delicacy of a tender female conſtitution, that I cannot ſuppoſe it, with all its glittering advantages in the way of ſcience, to have been near ſo eligible to the lovely Mrs Johnſon, as that open free converſe with the world, which is totally unacquainted with every colour and ſpecies of involuntary confinement. However, that greatneſs of mind, which inſpires, like the demon of Socrates, courage and reſolution into the ſouls of the innocent, comforted and ſupported the religious and virtuous Mrs Johnſon, under *all the bitterneſs* and preſſures of her reſtraint. *D. S. p.* 90. 91.

land in 1705; but returned in a few months, and never afterwards croſſed the channel. [*D. S. p.* 90.]

HE ſoon became eminent as a writer, and in that character at leaſt was known to the great men in both the factions, which were diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Whig* and *Tory* *. He had been educated among the Whigs; but he at length attached himſelf to the Tories, becauſe, as he ſaid, the Whigs had renounced their old principles, and received others, which their forefathers held in utter abhorrence †. [*O let.* 4.] He did not

* Two creatures, ſays a modern author, who are born with a ſecret antipathy to each other, and engage as naturally when they meet, as the elephant and rhinoceros. In a mixture of theſe two jarring animals conſiſted the firſt miniſtry of Q. Anne; but the greater ſhare of the adminiſtration was committed to the Whigs, who, with indefatigable induſtry, ſoon ingroſſed the whole; incloſing their ſovereign within their own fortifications, and keeping her captive within their own walls. The Queen, whoſe heart was naturally inclined towards the Tories, remained an unwilling priſoner ſeveral years to the Whigs; till Mr Harley, with a Tory army, undermined all the Whiggiſh fortreſſes, levelled their works to the ground, ſeized the princeſs, and, during the remainder of her life, ſurrounded and defended her with a new ſet of troops under the command of the Duke of Ormond. *O. let.* 4.

† The effects of power and ambition are extraordinary and boundleſs. They blind our faculties, they ſtagger our reſolution, and they ſubvert our nature. Not all the metamorphoſes of Ovid can produce a parallel equal to the change that appears in the ſame man, when from a patriot he becomes a courtier. Yet it may be aſſerted, and will redound to the honour of Dr Swift, that when he roſe into the confidence and eſteem of thoſe great men who ſat at the helm of affairs during the laſt years of Q. Anne's reign, he ſcarce ever loſt himſelf, or grew giddy by the plenitude of power, and the exalted ſtation of frequently appearing in the confidence and favour of the reigning miniſter. He may have been carried away by inconſiderate paſſion, but he was not to be ſwayed by deliberate evil. He may have erred in judgment, but he was upright in intention. The welfare and proſperity of theſe kingdoms were the conſtant aim of his politics, and the immediate ſubject of his thoughts and writings. *O. let.* 4.

however write any political pamphlet from the year 1701 * to the year 1708 †. [*D. S. p.* 148.]

BUT though, by his frequent excurſions to England, and a long abſence from his cures, he appears to have delayed

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IT is probable, that he hoped to exert himſelf more effectually in the church, by acquiring ſome other preferment; and that, with this view, he was ſollicitous to be near the court: for before his acquaintance with Lord Oxford, a biſhoprick was intended for him by the Queen. But Abp Sharpe, and a certain great Lady, having miſrepreſented his principles and character, her Majeſty gave it to another *. Of this injury, however, the Archbiſhop was afterwards truly ſenſible, expreſſed great ſorrow for it, and deſired his forgiveneſs. [*J R. p.* 271.]

AFTER this diſappointment it was not long before a new ſcene opened before him; for in 1710, being then in England, he was impowered by his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, to ſolicit the Queen to exonerate the clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts and firſt fruits. And upon this occaſion his acquaintance *with Harley* commenced †.

As ſoon as he had received the Biſhop's letter, inſtructions, and authority, he reſolved to apply to Mr Harley, not only becauſe he was a principal perſon in the Queen's miniſtry, but becauſe, by his intereſt, the ſame favour had been granted to the clergy of England. That he might not wait upon Mr Harley, to whom his name was well known, wholly without recommendation, he got himſelf repreſented as a perſon who had been extremely ill uſed by the laſt miniſtry, becauſe he would not go certain lengths which they would have had

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had him; this being in some sort Mr Harley's own case *. [vol. 4. p. 212.]

Mr

* Swift no sooner appeared at London in September 1710, but "all the Whigs were ravished to see him, and would have laid hold "on him as a twig to save them from sinking; and the great men "were all making him their clumsy apologies." [*Let. to S. Sept.* 9. 1710.] "It is good" [saith the Doctor] "to see what a lament-"able confession the Whigs all make of my ill usage." [*Ib. Sept.* 30.] In short, the Whigs would gladly have depended on his superior talents for their resurrection; and the Tories dreaded from his pen their inevitable destruction. *D. S. p.* 312, 13.—It does not appear, that Swift had any design of attaching himself to the Tory ministry at this time. For he declares within a few days after his arrival, that he is heartily weary of London, and wishes "that he had never stirred from Ireland." [*Let. to S. Sept.* 12. 1710.] But observing in October in what manner he was courted by Mr Harley and Mr Secretary St John, ("who frequently pro-"tested, after he had become their intimate, that he was the only "man in England they were afraid of,)" [*Ibid. June* 30. 1711.] as well as by all the rest of the great people in power, to whom he was immediately introduced by Mr Harley upon their first acquaintance, he readily enough accepted the invitation to be their friend and protector.

And now the publick interest to support,
By Harley SWIFT *invited comes to court.* [vol. 6. p. 262.]

"I stand with the new people" [saith he] "ten times better "than ever I did with the old; and forty times more caressed." [*Oct.* 14. 1710.] "The present ministry have a difficult task, and "want me, *&c.* According to the best judgment I have, they are "pursuing the true interest of the public; and therefore I am glad "to contribute what lies in my power." [*Nov.* 29. 1710.] "As "for your news that Mr St John is going to Holland, he has no "such thoughts to quit the great station he is in; nor if he had, "could I be spared to go with him." [*Jan.* 24. 1710.] "May my "enemies live here [at London] in summer; and yet I am so un-"lucky, that I cannot possibly be out of the way at this juncture. "——The Whigs whisper that our ministry differ among them-"selves, and they begin to talk out the Secretary. They have "some reasons for their whispers; tho' I thought it was a greater "secret. I do not much like the present posture of things. I "always apprehended that any falling out would ruin them, and "so I have told them several times. The Whigs are mighty full "of hopes at present; and whatever is the matter, all kinds of "stocks fall. I have not yet talked with the Secretary about "Prior's journey [to France.] I should be apt to think it may "foretel a peace; and that is all we have to preserve us." [*Aug.* 23. 1711.]——Swift and the Secretary having appointed to spend a

whole

Mr Harley received him with the utmoſt kindneſs and reſpect; he ſat with him two hours in company, and two hours he was with him alone. He not only engaged in the Doctor's immediate buſineſs with the utmoſt zeal, and ſoon after accompliſhed it; but told him, he muſt bring him acquainted with Mr St John; invited him to dine with him; charged him to come often; and, when the Doctor propoſed attending at his levee, told him that was no place for *friends*. The Doctor ſoon after became perſonally acquainted with the reſt of the miniſters, who appear to have courted and careſſed him with uncommon aſſiduity. He dined every Saturday at Mr Harley's, with the Lord Keeper, Mr Secretary St John, and Lord Rivers. On that day no other perſon was for ſometime admitted; but this ſelect company was at length enlarged to ſixteen, all men of the firſt claſs, Swift included. They dined once a-week at the houſes of each other by rotation, and went under the general denomination of *brothers* †.

FROM

whole day in private together upon affairs of the greateſt conſequence; "The duce" (ſaith he) "is in this Secretary. When I "went to him this morning, he had people with him; but ſays, "we are to dine with Prior to day, and then will do all our buſi-"neſs in the afternoon. At two, Prior ſends word he is other-"wiſe engaged. Then the Secretary and I go and dine with "Brig-Briton; ſit till eight, grow merry, no buſineſs done; we "part, and appoint no time to meet again. This is the fault of all "the preſent miniſters, teaſing me to death for my aſſiſtance, lay-"ing the whole weight of their affairs upon it; and ſlipping oppor-"tunities." [*Oct.* 31. 1711.] *D. S. p.* 329, 30, 1.

† Swift was repreſented to Mr Harley, "as one extremely ill "uſed by the laſt miniſtry," [vol. 4. p. 212.]; a ſentiment which, in his political wiſdom, that great miniſter both greedily and fearfully imbibed. And accordingly, when Swift waited upon him about the firſt fruits and twentieth parts; Harley knowing the pride and ſpirit of the man with whom he had to deal, inſtantly began to pay his court to Swift in all the ſhapes that were conſiſtent with his ſpirit and dignity. The moment that Swift appeared in his houſe, Harley "received him with the greateſt reſpect and kind-"neſs imaginable; and appointed him an hour two or three days after "to open his buſineſs to him." [*Let. to S. Oct.* 4. 1710.] No ſooner had Swift told him his buſineſs on the day appointed, but Harley "entered into it with all kindneſs, aſked him for his powers and

"read

FROM this time the Doctor ſupported the intereſt of his new friends with all his power, in pamphlets, poems, and periodical papers; his intimacy with them was ſo

" read them, and read likewiſe the memorial he had drawn up, " and put it into his pocket to ſhew the Queen; told him the " meaſures he would take; and, in ſhort, ſaid every thing he could " wiſh; told him he muſt bring Mr St John and him acquainted; " and ſpoke ſo many things of perſonal kindneſs and eſteem, that " he [Swift] was inclined to believe what ſome friends had told " him, that he [Harley] would do every thing to bring him over. " He [Harley] deſired him to dine with him on Tueſday; and af- " ter four hours being with him, ſet him down at St James's " coffeehouſe in a hackney-coach." [*Oct.* 7. 1710.] Add again, " I muſt tell you" [ſaith the Doctor] " a great piece of refinement " in Harley." [This was but four days after their firſt acquaintance.] " He charged me to come to ſee him often. I told " him I was loth to trouble him in ſo much buſineſs as he had, " and deſired I might have leave to come at his levee: which he " immediately refuſed, and ſaid, *that was no place for friends.*" [*Oct.* 8. 1710.] In two days after Harley "told him, he had ſhewn " his memorial to the Queen, *and ſeconded it very heartily*; be- " cauſe (ſaid he) the Queen deſigns to ſignify it to the Biſhops of " Ireland in form, and take notice that it was done upon a me- " morial from you: which Mr Harley told Swift *he did to* " *make it look more reſpectful to him.*" [*Oct.* 10. 1710.]——" I " believe" [ſaith the Doctor] " never any thing was compaſſed ſo " ſoon, and purely done by my perſonal credit with Mr Harley, " who is ſo exceſſively obliging, that I know not what to make of " it, unleſs to ſhew the raſcals of the other party, that they uſed " a man unworthily who had deſerved better." [*Oct.* 21. 1710.] " Harley ſpeaks all the kind things to me in the world." [*Nov.* 8. 1710.] But the account of his entertainment and reception at the Secretary's, will give ſome clearer light into theſe matters. " I dined to-day" [ſaith he] " by invitation with the Secretary of " State, Mr St John. Mr Harley came in to us before dinner, " and *made me his excuſes* for not dining with us, becauſe he was to " receive people who came to propoſe the advancing money to the " government.——*The Secretary uſed me with all the kindneſs in* " *the world.* Prior came in after dinner; and upon an occaſion " he [the Secretary] ſaid, the beſt thing he ever read is not yours, " ſays he, but Dr Swift's on Vanbrugh [in vol. 6. p. 76.]; " which I do not reckon ſo very good neither: but Prior was " damped, till I ſtuffed him with two or three compliments. He " told me among other things, that *Mr Harley complained he* " *could keep nothing from me, I had the way ſo much of getting into* " *him.* I knew that was a refinement; and ſo I told him; and " it was ſo. Indeed it is hard to ſee theſe great men uſe me like " one *who was their betters*, and the puppies with you in Ireland

" hardly

ſo remarkable, that he was thought not only to defend, but in ſome degree to direct their meaſures; and ſuch was his importance in the opinion of the oppoſite party, that many ſpeeches were made againſt him in both houſes of parliament †; a reward was alſo offered for diſcovering the author of *The public ſpirit of the Whigs*. [vol. 5. p. 51.] ‡.

WHATEVER

" hardly regarding me. But there are ſome reaſons for all this." [*Nov.* 11. 1710.] Theſe laſt words have an eye to his writing the Examiner; which he kept as a profound ſecret from all the world, except the printer and the miniſtry. Prior was ſuſpected for being the author of the Examiner, ſee number 26. 31. [in vol. 5.] and had like to have been inſulted for it in the ſtreet; to which the letter from the Whigs to the Examiner, No. 28. very plainly alludes.——It is a point beyond all controverſy, that no ſovereign prince was ever more careſſed by noble, generous, and manly ſpirits, than Swift undoubtedly was, not only by the great Harley, but all the Tory miniſtry. For it is certain, that Swift courted not the miniſtry, but the miniſtry courted Swift to be their champion and their protector. [See his own words, Examiner, No. 26.]; and uſed him with the ſame reſpect, as well after, as before he had taken them under his care. Neither did he once conſent to ſtay with the miniſtry, and run his fortune among them. *D. S. p.* 313.—316.

† See vol. 6. p. 262, 63.

‡ Among the various branches into which Swift's expanſive genius ſpread itſelf, thoſe peculiar talents of levelling his writings to the loweſt, and ſuſtaining their dignity to the higheſt capacity, were probably the original motives that attracted the Earl of Oxford's friendſhip to him. In the year 1709, the character of Dr Swift as an author, was perfectly eſtabliſhed. He had ſhewn abilities equal to thoſe attributed by Homer to Ulyſſes: he could appear a beggar among beggars, and a king among kings——From the year 1709, to the lateſt period of Q. Anne, we find him fighting on the ſide of the miniſters, and maintaining their cauſe in pamphlets, poems, and weekly papers. In a letter to Mr Pope, of Jan. 10. 1721, he has this expreſſion: " I have converſed in " ſome freedom with more miniſters of ſtate, of all parties, than " uſually happens to men of my level; and I confeſs, in their ca- " pacity as miniſters, I look upon them as a race of people whoſe " acquaintance no man would court, otherwiſe than on the ſcore " of vanity or ambition." [vol. 4. p. 27.] Lord Oxford, as a gentleman and a ſcholar, might be open and unreſerved to Dr Swift, as far as his Lordſhip's nature would permit; but as a miniſter of ſtate he ever appeared myſterious and enigmatical, delivering his oracles, like the Delphian deity, in occult terms and ambiguous

expreſſions.

WHATEVER excellence we poſſeſs, or whatever honours we obtain, the pleaſure which they produce, is all relative to ſome particular favourite, with whom we are tenderly connected, either by friendſhip or by love; or, at moſt, it terminates, like rays collected by a burning-glaſs, in a very ſmall circle, which is ſcarce more than a point, and, like light, becomes ſenſible only by reflection. Thus Swift, while he was courted and careſſed by thoſe whom others were making intereſt to approach, ſeems to have enjoyed his diſtinction, only in proportion as it was participated with Stella; for amidſt all the buſineſs, and all the honours that crouded upon him, he wrote every day an account of whatever occurred, and ſent her a journal, regularly dated, every fortnight, during the whole time of his connection with Q. Anne's miniſtry. [*D. S. p.* 258.] From theſe unreſtrained effuſions of his heart, many particulars are known, which could have been known no other way. And by theſe it appears inconteſtably, that he was not only employed, but truſted; and that Harley, who is univerſally allowed to have been one of the moſt reſerved and myſterious of all politicians, was to him, in affairs of the utmoſt moment, open and explicit *. The reſult of one of

expreſſions.——A man always appears of more conſequence to himſelf, than he is in reality to any other perſon. Such perhaps was the caſe of Dr Swift. He found himſelf much indulged by the ſmiles and converſation of the Earl of Oxford. He knew how uſeful he was to the adminiſtration in general: and in the aforementioned letter, he ſays, that the place of hiſtoriographer was intended for him [vol. 4. p. 23.] But I am apt to ſuſpect that he flattered himſelf too highly: at leaſt it is very evident, that he remained without any preferment till the year 1713, when he was made Dean of St Patrick's. In point of power and revenue, ſuch a deanery might be eſteemed no inconſiderable promotion; but to an ambitious mind, whoſe perpetual aim was a ſettlement in England, a dignity in any other kingdom muſt appear (as perhaps it was deſigned) only an honourable and profitable baniſhment. O. *let.* 4.

* The Earl of Oxford had a real friendſhip for Dr Swift. And there are ſome little gratifications in the commerce of friendſhip, which appear to be as ſtrong, if not ſtronger indications of our love and eſteem for particular perſons, than what is called advancing them in the grande monde, whether to honours or preferment. Of

of their conferences, ſo early as the year 1710, was to this effect, That the kingdom was as certainly ruined as a bankrupt merchant; that a peace, whether bad or good, was abſolutely neceſſary; that the confederacy muſt ſoon break, and factions increaſe; and that the miniſtry was upon too narrow a bottom, and ſtood like an iſthmus, between the Whigs on one ſide, and the violent Tories on the other; a ſituation in which they could not ſubſiſt *. Theſe violent Tories were formed into a ſociety called the *October club*, of whom Swift ſays, "They are about a hundred parliament men of "the country, who drink October beer at home, and "meet every evening at a tavern near the parlia-"ment-houſe, to drive things on to extremes againſt "the Whigs, to call the old miniſtry to account, and

 "get

Of this nature I take ſome preſents to have been which the Earl made to the Doctor, particularly his own picture enamelled by Zink, the ſeal of Julius Cæſar, and eſpecially the ſeal of the young Hercules, which were both given to the Earl by his royal miſtreſs, and afterwards by the Earl preſented to the Doctor; alluding perhaps, in the preſent of the young Hercules, to the character of Alcides in the poem called *Atlas*, the Earl being conſcious to himſelf how much the Doctor had ſupported the conſtitution, the Queen, and the miniſtry. But what, I think, ſhewed more kindneſs and affection than any of the former, was the preſent of that penknife wherewith the Earl himſelf had been ſtabbed by Guiſcard. It was a common ordinary penknife, with a tortoiſe ſhell handle; and when it was ſhut, was juſt about the length of a man's little finger. But as the blade was broken within half an inch of the handle, by the violence of the blow againſt one of the Earl's ribs, the Doctor had a hole drilled thro' that part of the blade which was broken off, and another hole thro' that piece which remained in the handle, and by that contrivance they were both held together by a little ſilver chain. *D. S. p.* 162. 3.

* Dr Swift's own account of this is as follows. "This king-"dom is certainly ruined as much as was ever any bankrupt mer-"chant. We muſt have peace, let it be a bad or a good one; tho' "no body dares talk of it. The nearer I look upon things, the "worſe I like them. I believe the confederacy will ſoon break to "pieces; and our factions at home increaſe. The miniſtry is "upon a narrow bottom; and ſtands like an iſthmus between the "Whigs on one ſide, and violent Tories on the other. They are "able ſea-men; but the tempeſt is too great, the ſhip too is rotten,

"and

" get off five or six heads *." *Let. to S. Feb.* 18. 1710. [*D. S. p.* 319. 320.]

BUT, if Swift thought this party too precipitant, it is certain he thought Lord Oxford too slow; and he once told him so in a manner that shews both his integrity, and the freedom of his conversation with those who have a prescriptive right to servility and adulation. He had received (from Col. Hill, a gentleman of worth, who had commanded with great bravery in the battle of Almanza, soon after his promotion to a regiment) a present of a fine tortoise-shell snuff-box, richly lined with gold, with the prospect of the rialto of Venice, several gondalos playing on the canals, and other figures to the number of 150, representing the pleasures of a carnival, painted on the inside of the lid. This present he shewed one day to Harley; who having admired the painting and

" and the crew all against them. Lord Sommers has been twice " in the Queen's closet, once very lately; and the Duchess of " S——t, who now has the key, is a most insinuating woman; " and I believe they will endeavour to play the same game that " has been played against them. I have told them all this, which " they know already; but they cannot help it: they have cau- " tioned the Queen so much against being governed, that she ob- " serves it too much. I could talk till to-morrow upon these " things; but they make me melancholy. I could not but ob- " serve, that lately after much conversation with Mr Harley, tho' " he is the most fearless man alive, and the least apt to despond, " he confessed to me, that uttering his mind to me gave him ease." [*Let. to Stella, March* 4. 1710.] *D. S. p.* 318.

* —— The ministry seem not to regard them; yet one of them in confidence told me, that there must be something thought on to settle things better. I'll tell you one great state-secret. The Queen, sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs a little into the other extreme, and is jealous in that point even of those who got her out of the other's hands. The ministry is for gentler measures, and the other Tories for more violent. Lord Rivers talking to me the other day, cursed the paper called the *Examiner*, for speaking civilly of the Duke of Marlborough. This I happened to talk of to the Secretary; who blamed the warmth of that Lord and some others, and swore, that if their advice were followed, they would be blown up in twenty-four hours. And I have reason to think that they will endeavour to prevail on the Queen to put her affairs more in the hands of a ministry than she does at present: and there are, I believe, two men thought on, *&c.* [*Let. to S.*] *D. S. p.* 320.

and the workmanſhip, at laſt ſpied a figure ſtudded on the outſide of the bottom, which he thought reſembled a gooſe; upon which, turning to the Doctor, "Jonathan," ſays he, "I think the Colonel has made a "gooſe of you." Yes, "my Lord," ſays the Doctor; "but, if your Lordſhip will look a little farther, you "will ſee that I am driving a ſnail before me; which indeed happened to be the device. To this the Earl coolly replied, "That is ſevere enough, Jonathan; but "I deſerve it." [*D. S. p.* 163, 4.]

IT is equally true, and equally evident, that Swift had no expectations of advantage from his connection with theſe perſons; that he knew they could not long preſerve their power; that he did not honour it while it laſted, and that he diſdained pecuniary obligations *.

"THE miniſtry" (ſaith he) "are good honeſt hearty fellows. I uſe them like dogs, becauſe I expect "they will uſe me ſo. They call me nothing but Jonathan; and I ſaid I believed they would leave me "Jonathan as they found me; and that I never knew "a miniſtry do any thing for thoſe whom they make "companions of their pleaſures; but I care not." [*Let. to S. Feb.* 17. 1710. *D. S. p.* 322.]

IN the ſummer of 1711, he foreſaw the ruin of the miniſtry, by thoſe miſunderſtandings among themſelves which at laſt affected it; and it was not only his opi-

* Swift, conſcious of his great abilities, and that he was not obliged to the miniſtry, for any the leaſt favour, how much ſoever they had been obliged to him for his care and protection, treated every one of them round, juſt in what ſtyle and manner he thought convenient. The miniſtry, who were themſelves men of wit and penetration, bore with his temper, and ſoothed him in his greateſt irregularities. Had they ventured to have acted otherwiſe, they knew in their ſouls, that he would have taken horſe the next morning, and, careleſs of their fate, expoſed them to the fury of their enemies. But this ſpirit of dominion, which more or leſs gave a tincture to all his converſation and behaviour throughout his whole life, was ſuffered freely to paſs under the ſoft and gentle appellation of wit and humour. "I dined to-day" (ſaith he) "with Mr Secretary St John. I went to the court of requeſts at "noon, and ſent Mr Harley into the houſe to call the Secretary, "to let him know I would not dine with him if he dined late." [*Let. to S. Feb.* 12. 1710.]

nion, but their own, that if they could not carry a peace, they would not be able to keep themſelves out of the Tower, even though they ſhould agree. [*D. S. p.* 331. *Let. to Stella.*] In order therefore to facilitate this great event, Swift wrote, *The conduct of the allies*; a piece which he confeſſes coſt him much pains, and which ſucceeded even beyond his expectation. [*D. S. p.* 332. *Let. to S.*] It was publiſhed Nov. 27. 1711, juſt ten days before the parliament met; and, before the 28th of January, above eleven thouſand were ſold, ſeven editions having been printed in England, and three in Ireland. [*D. S. p.* 335.] The Tory members in both houſes who ſpoke, drew all their arguments from it; and the reſolutions which were printed in the votes, and which would never have paſſed but for *The conduct of the allies*, were little more than quotations from it *. [*D. S. p.* 337 *Let. to S.*]

FROM

* The Whigs, encouraged, ſupported, and abetted, by the Dutch, the Emperor, and all the princes in the grand alliance, were furious againſt a peace. In ſummer 1711 they had been extremely active in muſtering up their forces, and collecting their whole ſtrength againſt the next meeting of the parliament; and with ſuch dexterity their affairs were managed, that actually they had got the Queen herſelf to be ſecretly on their ſide, as appeared to a demonſtration from her behaviour to the Duke of Shrewſbury, Dec. 7. 1711. For, "when the Queen was going from the houſe "of Lords, where ſhe ſat to hear the debate, Shrewſbury, Lord "Chamberlain, aſked her Majeſty, whether he, or the Great "Chamberlain Lindſay, ought to lead her out? ſhe anſwered ſhort, "Neither of you; and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerſet, "who was louder than any in the houſe againſt the peace." [*Let. to S. Dec.* 8. 1711.] And Dr Swift "having aſked Lord Oxford, "whether ſome particular Lords would have voted againſt the court, "if the Duke of Somerſet had not aſſured them it would pleaſe "the Queen? Lord Oxford plainly told him, his conjectures were "true, and that my Lord Duke of Somerſet had ſo aſſured them." [*Ib. Dec.* 11.] And this behaviour of the Queen was in fact the original cauſe of her making twelve Peers at once, "after ſhe had at laſt been perſuaded to her own intereſt and ſecurity. Yet, after all," adds Swift, "it is a ſtrange unhappy neceſſity of making ſo "many Peers together; but the Queen has drawn it upon herſelf, "by her trimming and moderation." [*Ib. Dec.* 29.] The Whigs, thus elated with hope, and with a full aſſurance of ſucceſs in defeating the miniſtry, and quaſhing the preliminaries of a peace, ſtocks fell, and all difficulties ſeemed to vaniſh before them. "We have no quiet" (ſaith the Doctor) "with the Whigs, they

"are

FROM this time till the year 1713, he continued to exert himſelf, with unwearied diligence, in the ſervice of the miniſtry. [*D. S. p.* 156.] And while he was at Windſor, juſt at the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht,

" are ſo violent againſt a peace; but I will cool them with a ven-
" geance, very ſoon." [*Oct.* 26. 1711.] " I have written a paper"
(ſaith he) " which the miniſters reckon will do abundance of
" good, and open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched
" againſt a peace. Few of this generation can remember any
" thing but war and taxes, and they think it is as it ſhould be;
" whereas it is certain, we are the moſt undone people in Europe,
" as I am afraid I ſhall make appear beyond all contradiction."
[*Oct.* 30.]—After the publication of *The conduct of the allies*, all London, both court and city, were alarmed. The Dutch envoy deſigned to complain of it, and refuſed dining with Dr D'Avenant, becauſe, among others, he was ſuſpected to be the author. The Whigs reſolved to bring it into the houſe of Lords, to have it there examined; and the Lord Chief Juſtice ſent for Morphew the printer, threatned him, aſked him who was the author of *The conduct of the allies*, and bound him over to appear the next term. The noiſe which it made was extraordinary. " It is fit" (ſaith the Doctor) " it ſhould anſwer the pains I have been at about it.
" Some lay it to Prior, others to Mr Secretary St John; but I am
" always the firſt they lay every thing to." [*Dec.* 2.] However, within four days after it was publiſhed, there was a report in London, that ſeveral of the Whigs began to be content that a peace ſhould be treated.——The parliament, however, met Dec. 7.
" The Earl of Nottingham began and ſpoke againſt the peace,
" and deſired, that in their addreſs they might put a clauſe to ad-
" viſe the Queen not to make a peace without Spain; which was de-
" bated, and carried by the Whigs, by about ſix voices, in a com-
" mittee of the whole houſe," [*Dec.* 7.]: and the next day " the
" clauſe was carried againſt the court in the houſe of Lords almoſt
" two to one." [*Dec.* 8.] The Doctor, who has written copiouſly on theſe proceedings, concludes his letter in theſe words.
" This is a long journal, and of a day that may produce great al-
" terations, and hazard the ruin of England. The Whigs are all
" in triumph. They foretold how all this would be, but we thought
" it boaſting. Nay, they ſaid the parliament ſhould be diſſolved
" before Chriſtmas, and perhaps it may. This is all your D—
" of S—t's doings. I warned them [the miniſters] of it nine
" months ago, and a hundred times ſince. The Secretary always
" dreaded it. I told Lord Treaſurer, I ſhould have the advantage
" of him, for he would loſe his head, and I ſhould only be hanged,
" and ſo carry my body entire to the grave." [*Dec.* 8.]—And ſhortly after talking of theſe affairs, " Here are" (ſaith the Doctor)
" the firſt ſteps towards the ruin of an excellent miniſtry; for I
" look

he drew the firſt ſketch of *An hiſtory of the four laſt years of Q. Anne.* The work would have been publiſhed ſoon after, if his friends in the miniſtry had not diſagreed about it; and, after the Queen's death, he ſpent much time in improving and correcting it; but it has not yet appeared. [*D. S. p.* 340. vol. 4. p. 23.]

DURING all this time, he received no gratuity or reward till the year 1713; and then he accepted the deanery of St Patrick's Dublin.

IT may perhaps be thought ſtrange, that his friends did not rather procure him a biſhoprick in England, and place him in the houſe of Lords, where his political eloquence might have been employed with great advantage. But this was not in their power; and they might be willing to ſecure to him ſuch advantage as they could, knowing

" look upon them as certainly ruined. Some are of opinion the " whole miniſtry will give up their places next week; others imagine, when the ſeſſions is over. I do reſolve, if they give up, " or are turned out ſoon, to retire for ſome months, and I have " pitched upon the place already. I would be out of the way " upon the firſt of the ferment. For they lay all things on me, " even ſome I have never read." [*Dec.* 15.]——Nevertheleſs, while things continued in this doubtful ſituation, and many of the friends of the miniſtry had given all for gone, ſuch was the force of reaſoning, and ſuch were the merits of that pamphlet, *The conduct of the allies*, " that the Tory Lords and Commons in parliament argued all from it; and all agreed, that never any thing " of that kind was of ſo great conſequence, or made ſo many " converts." [*Dec.* 18.] And at laſt, ſuch were the effects that it produced almoſt univerſally in the minds of men, that " the " houſe of Commons" (ſaith the Doctor) " have this day made " many ſevere votes about our being abuſed by our allies. Thoſe " who ſpoke drew all their arguments from my book, and their " votes confirm all I writ. The court had a majority of 150. " All agree that it was my book that ſpirited them to theſe reſo- " lutions." [*Feb.* 4.] And preſently after he confirms what he had aſſerted beyond all poſſibility of miſtake. " The reſolutions" (ſaith he) " printed the other day in the votes, are almoſt quota- " tions from it, and would never have paſſed, if that book had " not been written." [*Feb.* 8.]——Such were the politics, and ſuch was the importance of Dr Swift, in thoſe furious times. *D. S. p.* 332.—337.

knowing their own inſtability, and foreſeeing their fall *. [vol. 4. p. 203.]

BUT, with whatever view, or from whatever cauſe, the deanery of St Patrick's was given him, he received it with leſs pleaſure than he would have done a ſettlement with much leſs power and profit in England.

HE immediately croſſed the channel to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity; but did not ſtay in Ireland more than a fortnight, being urged by an hundred letters to haſten back, and reconcile Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, the conſequences of whoſe miſunderſtanding were juſtly dreaded by their friends ‡. [vol. 4. p. 201.]

WHEN

* I am much inclined to believe, that the temper of Swift might occaſion his Engliſh friends to wiſh him happily and properly promoted, at a diſtance. His ſpirit, for I would give it the ſofteſt name, was ever untractable. The motions of his genius were often irregular. He aſſumed more the air of a patron, than of a friend. He affected rather to dictate than adviſe. He was elated with the appearance of enjoying miniſterial confidence. He enjoyed the ſhadow: the ſubſtance was detained from him. He was employed, not truſted; and at the ſame time that he imagined himſelf a ſubtle diver, who dextrouſly ſhot down into the profoundeſt regions of politics, he was ſuffered only to ſound the ſhallows neareſt the ſhore, and was ſcarce admitted to deſcend below the froth at the top. Perhaps the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inſpection. *O. let.* 4.

‡ In the beginning of the year 1714, Swift returned to England. He found his *great* friends, who ſat in the ſeat of power, much diſunited among themſelves. He ſaw the Queen declining in her health, and diſtreſſed in her ſituation; while faction was exerting itſelf, and gathering new ſtrength every day. The part which he had to act upon this occaſion, was not ſo difficult, as it was diſagreeable. He exerted the utmoſt of his ſkill to reunite the miniſters, and to cement the apertures of the ſtate. I could deſcend into very minute particulars, were I to relate what I have heard him ſay upon this occaſion. But we are at preſent too near that æra, and have had too many unexpected conſequences from it, either to judge impartially, or to write undauntedly, of thoſe tempeſtuous times. As ſoon as Swift found his pains fruitleſs, his arguments unavailing, and his endeavours, like the ſtone of Syſiphus, rolling back upon himſelf, he retired to a friend's houſe in Berkſhire, where he remained till the Queen died. So fatal a cataſtrophe put a final period to all his views in England, and made him return, as faſt as poſſible, to his deanery in Ireland, loaded with thoſe agonizing paſſions, grief and diſcontent. *O. let.* 4.

WHEN he returned, he found their quarrels and coldneſs increaſed; and having predicted their ruin from this very cauſe, he laboured to bring about a reconciliation, as that upon which the whole intereſt of their party depended.

WITH this view he contrived to bring them to Lord Maſham's at St James's; and Lord and Lady Maſham being acquainted with his purpoſe, left him alone with them. He then expoſtulated with them both; but to little effect; being able only to engage them to go to Windſor the next day; ſtill hoping, that if he could keep them together, they would come to ſome agreement; well knowing, that in abſence the mind perpetually revolves the recent offences of a friend, and heightens them by every poſſible aggravation; but that, when the offended and offender meet, the dying ſparks of eſteem or kindneſs often brighten into a flame, the remembrance of paſt pleaſure and confidence returns, and mutually inclines them to ſecure, by an accommodation, that which they feel they cannot loſe without regret.

SWIFT ſoon after followed them; but was told by Lord Bolingbroke, that his ſcheme had come to nothing; and he had the mortification to obſerve, that they grew more cold to each other every day. In the mean time Lord Oxford's credit grew leſs and leſs, and the Queen's health viſibly declined.

SWIFT, however, contrived yet once more to meet them at Lord Maſham's, and was again left alone with them. This was the laſt time they ever met, and he ſpoke to them both with great freedom; but at length deſpairing of his purpoſe, he told them he would retire, for that all was gone. Bolingbroke whiſpered him that he was right, but Oxford ſaid all would do well.

SWIFT ſtill adhered to his opinion; and therefore went in a day or two to Oxford by the coach, and thence to the houſe of a friend in Berkſhire, where he continued till the Queen's death, which happened in about ten weeks. [vol. 4. p. 201, 2]

WHILE he was at this place, his mind was ſtill buſy for his friends; and he wrote a diſcourſe, called *Free thoughts on the preſent ſtate of affairs*, which he thought might

might be useful at that juncture, and sent it up to London; but, some difference of opinion happening between him and Lord Bolingbroke concerning it, the publication was delayed till the Queen's death; and then he recalled his copy; which was afterwards deposited with the late Alderman Barber, and having been since published, will be found in vol. 2. p. 362. [vol. 4. p. 22, 23.]

A few weeks after the death of the Queen, he went back to his station in Ireland; all his connections with the court being broken, and all his expectations disappointed.

BUT it would be an injury to Swift not to stop a moment here; and, before we descend with him into the vale of private life, look back, as from an eminence, upon the country we have passed.

FEW of those who have been permitted to associate with persons greatly superior in rank and fortune, who have climbed in the retinue of power, and been distinguished by reflected greatness, have been able to sustain the native dignity of their own character, without stooping as they ascended the hill, or being blinded by the light that made them conspicuous to others.

LET it therefore be recorded to the honour of Dr Swift, and to animate others by his example and reward, that, during his connection with those who were in the highest rank, and who in every rank would have been great, he would never suffer himself to be treated but as an equal; and repulsed every attempt to hold him in dependence, or keep him at a distance, with the utmost resentment and indignation.

IT happened upon some occasion, that Harley sent him a bank-bill of 50 l. by his private secretary Mr Lewis; which Swift instantly returned, with a letter of expostulation and complaint. Harley invited him to dine, but he refused. He wrote to Mr Lewis to mediate between them, desiring to be reconciled; but Swift sent word, that he expected farther satisfaction. Harley replied, if he would but come and see him, he would make him easy: but Swift insisted, that he should apologize

logize by meſſage; and declared, that, otherwiſe, *he would caſt him off* *. [*D. S. p.* 324, 5. *let. to S.*]

It is poſſible that this favour might have been rejected, as not worth his acceptance: but it is certain, that, if it had been of greater value, it would not have atoned for any indecorum in the offer, or have induced Swift to ſuffer an obligation from thoſe whom he did not eſteem; for he refuſed the place of hiſtoriographer with diſdain, becauſe it was in the diſpoſal of a perſon whom he regarded with diſguſt and contempt †.

He would not ſuffer even negative incivilities from thoſe who, if by their ſtation they had not been his ſuperiors, would have been his equals by learning and parts. It happened, that having on a Sunday dined with Mr St John, who was then ſecretary of ſtate, and remarked that he appeared to be much out of temper; he took the firſt opportunity to ſee him alone, aſked him what

* Swift was a man of ſuch exalted ſpirit and fire, that if a benefit deſigned him were not accompanied with elegance and grace in the manner of propoſing it, he would ſcorn the intended favour, and reſent it as an affront. He quarrelled with his friend Harley on a punctilio of this kind. "Mr Harley" (ſaith Dr Swift) "deſired me to dine with him again to-day, but I refuſed "him; for I fell out with him yeſterday, and will not ſee him a"gain till he makes me amends." [*Let. to S. Feb.* 6. 1710.] "I "was this morning early" (ſays he) "with Mr Lewis of the Se"cretary's office, and ſaw a letter Mr Harley had ſent him, deſir"ing to be reconciled; but I was deaf to all intreaties, and have "deſired Lewis to go to him, and let him know I expect further "ſatisfaction. *If we let theſe great miniſters pretend too much, "there will be no governing them.* He promiſes to make me eaſy "if I will but come and ſee him; but I won't; and he ſhall do "it by meſſage, *or I will caſt him off*; in that he did ſomething "which he intended for a favour, and I have taken it quite other"wiſe, diſliking both the thing and the manner: and it has "heartily vexed me; and all I have ſaid is truth, tho' it looks "like jeſt: and I abſolutely refuſed to *ſubmit* to his intended fa"vour, and expect farther ſatisfaction." [*Feb.* 7. 1710.] But in a few days after, he ſays, "I have taken Mr Harley into fa"vour again." [*Feb.* 13.] *D. S. p.* 323. 4.

† If Swift refuſed this place, he could not, as Lord Orrery ſuppoſes, be miſtaken in believing it intended for him; and that he did refuſe it, we have his own expreſs declaration in his letter to Pope, dated Jan. 10. 1721. [vol. 4. p. 23.] *Hawkeſ.*

what the d —— ailed him on Sunday; told him he obſerved he was much out of temper; that he did not expect he would tell him the cauſe, but would be glad to ſee he was in better; and warned him never to behave to him with ſilent reſerve, for that he would not be treated like a ſchoolboy; and that he had felt too much of that in his life already. "I told him," ſays he, "that I expected, that every great miniſter who honoured me with his acquaintance, if he heard or ſaw "any thing to my diſadvantage, would let me know "it in plain words, and not put me in pain to gueſs "by the change or coldneſs of his countenance or behaviour; for it was what I would hardly bear from a "crowned head, and I thought no ſubject's favour was "worth it. I told him, that I deſigned to let my "Lord Keeper and Mr Harley know the ſame thing, "that they may uſe me accordingly."

THE Secretary received the reproof like a friend, as it was given, and apologized for his behaviour, by ſaying, that buſineſs had kept him up ſeveral whole nights, and drinking one more; and to make up matters he preſſed the Doctor to ſtay to dinner; which, however, he declined, as well becauſe he would not encourage a ſecond offence by too eaſily paſſing over the firſt, as becauſe he was engaged with another friend † [*D. S. p.* 326, 7. *let. to S. April* 3. 1711.]

IF

† At the hours that Swift was not engaged in political affairs, he laughed, he played, he amuſed himſelf, with every whim and vagary that floated on the ſurface of his imagination. "Secreta-"ry St John" (ſaith he) "would needs have me dine with him "to-day; and there I found three perſons I never ſaw; two I had "no acquaintance with, and one I did not care for: ſo I left "them early, and came home; it being no day to walk, but ſeur-"vy rain and wind. The Secretary tells me he has put a cheat "upon me; for Lord Peterborow ſent him twelve dozen flaſks of "Burgundy, on condition that I ſhould have my ſhare; but he ne-"ver was quiet till they were all gone: ſo I reckon he owes me "36 l." [*Let to S. Feb.* 18. 1710.]——But, in a few days after, Swift, in a pleaſant manner, took ample ſatisfaction of the Secretary. For "I dined to day" (ſaith he) "with Mr Secretary "St John, on condition I might chuſe my company; which were, "Lord Rivers, Lord Carteret, Sir Thomas Manſell, and Mr "Lewis.

If in this repreſentation of his behaviour, as it is in many particulars taken from his letters to Stella, he ſhould be ſuſpected of having ſomewhat exaggerated to gratify his vanity, he may be abundantly juſtified by a letter ſtill extant, which he wrote to Lord Oxford after the connection between them was broken. "When "I was with you," ſays he, "I have ſaid more than "once, that I would never allow quality or ſtation "made any difference between men.—I loved you juſt "ſo much the worſe for your ſtation.—In your public "capacity you have often *angered* me to the heart, but "as a private man never once.—I was too proud to be "vain of the honour you did me.—I was never afraid "of offending you, nor am now in any pain for the "manner I write to you in." [vol. 4. p. 199, 200, 1.]

Neither was this conduct the effect of pride and ſelf-ſufficiency, but of true dignity of mind; for he exacted nothing which, in his turn, he did not pay, nor aſked more for himſelf than for others whoſe pretenſions or circumſtances were the ſame.

When he was deſired by Lord Oxford to introduce Dr Parnel to his acquaintance, he refuſed, upon this principle, that a man of genius was a character ſuperior to that of a Lord in a high ſtation. He therefore obliged his Lordſhip to walk with his treaſurer's ſtaff from room to room through his own levee, inquiring which was Dr Parnel, in order to introduce himſelf, and beg the honour of his acquaintance.

It was known by an accident, after his memory failed, that he allowed an annuity of fifty guineas to Mrs Dingley; but inſtead of doing this with the parade of a bene-

"Lewis. I invited Maſham, Hill, Sir John Stanley, and George "Granville; but they were engaged: and I did it in revenge of "his having ſuch bad company when I dined with him before. "So we laughed," *&c.* [*Feb.* 25. 1710. This puts me in mind of an accident which happened at Windſor. "The court here" (ſaith the Doctor) "have got by the end a good thing I ſaid to "the Secretary ſome weeks ago. He ſhewed me his bill of fare, "to tempt me to dine with him. Poh, ſaid I, I value not your "bill of fare; give me your bill of company. Lord Treaſurer "was mightily pleaſed, and told it every body as a notable thing." [*Sept.* 2. 1711.] *D. S. p.* 332, 3.

a benefactor, or gratifying his pride, by making her feel her dependence, he always pretended, that he acted only as her agent, and that the money he paid her, was the produce of a certain ſum which ſhe had in the funds: and the better to ſave appearances, he always took her receipt; and ſometimes would pretend, with great ſeeming vexation, that ſhe drew upon him before he had received her money from London. [*D. S. p.* 346.]

As to his political principles, if his own account of them is to be believed, he abhorred Whiggiſm only in thoſe who made it conſiſt in damning the church, reviling the clergy, abetting the diſſenters, and ſpeaking contemptibly of revealed religion. He always declared himſelf againſt a Popiſh ſucceſſor to the crown, whatever title he might have by proximity of blood; nor did he regard the right line, upon any other account, than as it was eſtabliſhed by law, and had much weight in the opinions of the people. He was of opinion, that when the grievances ſuffered under a preſent government became greater than thoſe which might probably be expected from changing it by violence, a revolution was juſtifiable; and this he believed, to have been the caſe in that which was brought about by the Prince of Orange. He had a mortal antipathy againſt ſtanding armies in times of peace; and was of opinion, that our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, till the antient law ſhould be revived, by which our parliaments were made annual. He abominated the political ſcheme of ſetting up a moneyed intereſt in oppoſition to the landed; and was an enemy to temporary ſuſpenſions of the *Habeas corpus* act. If ſome aſperities that cannot be juſtified have eſcaped his pen, in papers which were haſtily written in the firſt ardour of his zeal, and often after great provocation from thoſe who wrote againſt him, ſurely they may, without the exertion of angelic benevolence, be forgiven. [vol. 4. p. 29. 30, 31.]

THAT he was not at any time a bigot to party, and that he did not indiſcriminately transfer his reſentments from principles to perſons, was ſo evident by his conduct, that it was a uſual ſubject of raillery towards him among the miniſters, that he never came to them without a Whig in his ſleeve. And though he does not appear to

have aſked any thing for himſelf, yet he often preſſed Lord Oxford in favour of Mr Addiſon, Mr Congreve, Mr Rowe, and Mr Steele; with whom, except Mr Steele, he frequently converſed during all Lord Oxford's miniſtry; chuſing his friends by their perſonal merit, without examining how far their notions agreed with the politics then in vogue; and, in particular, his friendſhip with Mr Addiſon continued inviolable, and with as much kindneſs as when they uſed to meet at Lord Halifax's or Lord Sommers's, who were leaders of the oppoſite party. [vol. 4. p. 26, 27.]

AMONG other perſons with whom he was intimately acquainted during this gay part of his life, was Mrs Vanhomrigh. She was a Lady of a good family, the daughter of Mr Stone the commiſſioner, and niece to the accomptant-general of Ireland. She was alſo a Lady of politeneſs and good breeding. [*D. S. p.* 258.]

SHE was the widow of Mr Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, firſt a merchant of Amſterdam, and afterwards of Dublin, who was appointed commiſſary of the ſtores by King William, upon his expedition into Ireland; a place which, during the war, was computed to be worth 6000 l. *per annum*. After the affairs of Ireland were ſettled, he was appointed muſtermaſter-general, and a commiſſioner of the revenue, and laid out about 12,000 l. in the purchaſe of forfeited eſtates: but though he received the produce of this eſtate, and enjoyed his appointments thirteen years; yet when he died, in 1703, his expences had been ſo nearly equal to his revenue, that his whole fortune, the value of his eſtate included, amounted only to 16,000 l. This ſum he directed by his will, to be divided equally between his wife and four children, of which two were ſons and two were daughters. The ſons died ſoon after their father, and their ſhare of his fortune fell to the daughters. [*D. S. p.* 260. *&c. O. let.* 9.]

IN 1709, the widow and the two young Ladies came to England, where they were viſited by perſons of the firſt quality; and Swift, lodging within a few doors of their houſe in Bury-ſtreet, St James's, uſed to be much there, coming and going without ceremony, as if he had been one of the family. [*D. S. p.* 259.] During this

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f marriage. It is probable, that his connections
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s obliged them to accept. It appears too, that they

had contracted some debts in their own right, which it was not in their power immediately to pay: and therefore to avoid an arrest, they followed the Dean into Ireland †.

UPON his arrival to take possession of his deanery, and his return after the Queen's death, he was received, according to the account of Lord Orrery [vol. 6. p. 58. note] and Mr Deane Swift, with every possible mark of contempt and indignation, especially by the populace, who not only reviled and cursed him, but pelted him with stones and dirt as he passed along the streets. [*D. S. p.* 178. 183.] The author of the *Observations*, on the contrary, affirms, that he was received by all ranks of men, not only with kindness, but honour; the Tories being then in full power, as well in Ireland as in England, and Swift's service to the church and credit at court being well known. [*J. R. p.* 87.] This indeed was true when he went to take possession: but when he returned to his deanery, the power of the Tories and the Dean's credit at court were at an end; circumstances which might well cause the rabble at least to forget his services to the church. It is certain, that great clamour was then raised by the new men against the late ministry, with whom Swift had been closely connected: they were charged with a design to bring in the pretender; and the same design was consequently imputed to

† After the death of her husband and sons, with this increase of wealth, and with heads and hearts elated by affluence, and unrestrained by foresight or discretion, the widow Vanhomrigh and her two daughters quitted the luxurious soil of their native country, for the more elegant pleasures of the English court. During their residence at London, they lived in a course of prodigality that stretched itself far beyond the limits of their income, and reduced them to great distress; in the midst of which the mother died, and the two daughters hastened in all secrecy back to Ireland, beginning their journey on a Sunday, to avoid the interruption and importunities of a certain fierce kind of animals called *bailiffs*, who are not only sworn foes to wit and gaiety, but whose tyranny, altho' it could not have reached the deified Vanessa, might have been very fatal to Esther Vanhomrigh. Within two years after their arrival in Ireland, Mary the youngest sister died, and the small remains of the shipwrecked fortune centered in Vanessa. *O. let.* 9. —— See Orrery's account of Vanessa's character, and of Swift's conduct with her, in vol. 6. p. 10. *et seqq.* in the notes.

to Swift, whom it was therefore conſidered by ſome as a qualification for preferment to revile and oppoſe: which party the mob took, whoſe fault it has never been to coincide implicitly with a court, poſterity muſt judge for themſelves. But it ſeems probable, that theſe accounts, however contradictory, may both be true; and that Swift at this time might be the Sacheverel of Ireland, followed by the mob of one faction with execrations, and by the other with ſhouts of applauſe *.

IT is however agreed, that the Archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſome of his old friends in the chapter, ſet themſelves againſt his meaſures with all their force, and laboured to diſappoint him in the exerciſe of his power by every art of oppoſition and delay. But whatever prejudice they had conceived againſt him was ſoon removed by the diſintereſted integrity of his conduct, which was ſo apparent and ſtriking, that they ſoon regarded him with reſpect and veneration, and almoſt implicitly acquieſced in whatever he propoſed.

THIS removal from England to Ireland was the great event which determined the colour of his life, bounded his views, and ſhewed him at once what he might poſſeſs, and for what he might hope.

THERE is a time when every man is ſtruck with a ſenſe of his mortality, and feels the force of a truth to which he has conſented merely from cuſtom, without conſidering its certainty or importance. This time ſeldom happens in the chearful ſimplicity of infancy, or in the firſt impatience of youth, when "the world is all before us,"

* We are now no longer to behold Dr Swift of any importance in England: his hopes there are cruſhed for ever; his miniſterial friends are degraded, baniſhed, or impriſoned. Indecent rage, ſanguinary zeal, and ill tempered loyalty, revelled at large throughout the three kingdoms, eſpecially in Ireland, where duels were fought almoſt every week, and where the peſt was ſo univerſal, that the ladies were as violent as the gentlemen. Even children at ſchool quarrelled for kings, inſtead of fighting for apples.—— As Swift was known to have been attached to the Queen's laſt miniſtry, to have written againſt the Whigs, and "to have oiled "many a ſpring which Harley moved," he met with frequent indignities from the populace, and indeed was equally abuſed by perſons of all ranks and denominations. Such a treatment ſoured his temper, confined his acquaintance, and added bitterneſs to his ſtyle, *O. let.* 6. See vol. 6. p. 58. in the notes.

when every object has the force of novelty, and every desire of pleasure receives auxiliar strength from curiosity: but after the first heat of the race, when we stop to recover from our fatigue, we naturally consider the ground before us, and then perceive that at the end of the course are clouds and darkness; that the grave will soon intercept our pursuit of temporal felicity; and that, if we cannot stretch to the goal that is beyond it, we run in vain, and spend our strength for nought. Great disappointments which change our general plan, and make it necessary to enter the world as it were a second time, seldom fail to alarm us with the brevity of life, and repress our alacrity, by precluding our hopes.

THE Dean, whether by the vigour and activity of his imagination, the multitude of his ideas, or the ardour of his pursuits, escaped the force of this thought, till his retreat to Ireland on the death of the Queen: and then indeed it came upon him with such influence, that, after fifteen years, it constantly recurred when he first awaked in the morning, and was not dismissed till he again began to sleep. [vol. 4. p. 100.]

As soon as he was settled at Dublin, Mrs Johnson removed from the country to be near him; but they still lived in separate houses: his residence was at the deanery, and hers in lodgings on the other side of the river Liffy.

THE Dean kept two public days every week; and though the circle of his visitors is said at first to have been small, yet it soon increased, and always consisted of the best company. [*D. S. p.* 91 180.] Those who were more particularly the companions of his choice, were such as would have done honour to any character. They were the Grattons, seven brothers, the sons of Dr Gratton, a venerable and hospitable clergyman, who gave them all a liberal education. The eldest was a justice of peace, and lived reputably on his patrimony in the country; another was a physician, and another a merchant, both eminent in their professions; three others were clergymen, who had a competent provision in the church; and the youngest was fellow of Dublin college, and master of the great free school at Enniskilling. They were all persons of great merit, as generally

ly acquainted, and as much beloved as any in the kingdom. The Jacksons, a family of which both men and women were genteel, agreeable, and well bred, such companions as no wise man ever wanted, if they could be had; George Rochford, and Peter Ludlow, men of fortune, learning, wit, humour, and virtue; and Mr Matthew Lord, deemed the best lay scholar of his time: These, with the fellows of the college, Dr Walmesley, Dr Helsham, Dr Delany, Dr Stopford, now Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr Sheridan; Lady Eustace, Mrs Moore, Lady Betty Rochford, and Mrs Ludlow, with Mrs Johnson, and her friends, were the persons with whom Swift spent his leisure-hours, from the year 1714 to the year 1720, [*J. R. p.* 90. *&c.*]; a period in which it has been injuriously said, that his choice of companions shewed him of a depraved taste *. There was indeed among his companions one person who could derive no honour from his lineage, a foundling, whom Swift therefore used to call *Melchisedek*, because Melchisedek is said to have had neither father nor mother. This gentleman's name was *Worral*; he was a clergyman, a master of arts, a reader, and a vicar of his cathedral, and master of the song. He was nearly of the Dean's own standing in the college, had good sense, and much humour. He was married to a woman of great sprightliness, good-nature, and generosity; remarkably cleanly and elegant in her person, in her house, and at her table. But there is another particular in Mr Worral's character which greatly contributed to his intimacy with the Dean: he was a good walker. The Dean used this exercise in an immoderate degree, under the notion of its being absolutely necessary, not to health only, but to cleanliness, by keeping the pores of the skin clear, and throwing off impurities by perspiration. Mr Worral's situation in the church naturally engaged his frequent attendance upon the Dean. This attendance commonly ended in a walk; and the walk in their dining

* It is matter of astonishment to find the same person, who had enjoyed the highest and the best conversation, equally delighted with the lowest and the worst: and yet it is certain, that from Swift's settlement in Dublin as Dean of St Patrick's, his choice of companions in general shewed him of a very depraved taste. O. let. 6.

have asked any thing for himself, yet he often pressed Lord Oxford in favour of Mr Addison, Mr Congreve, Mr Rowe, and Mr Steele; with whom, except Mr Steele, he frequently conversed during all Lord Oxford's ministry; chusing his friends by their personal merit, without examining how far their notions agreed with the politics then in vogue; and, in particular, his friendship with Mr Addison continued inviolable, and with as much kindness as when they used to meet at Lord Halifax's or Lord Sommers's, who were leaders of the opposite party. [vol. 4 p. 26, 27.]

AMONG other persons with whom he was intimately acquainted during this gay part of his life, was Mrs Vanhomrigh. She was a Lady of a good family, the daughter of Mr Stone the commissioner, and niece to the accomptant-general of Ireland. She was also a Lady of politeness and good breeding. [*D. S. p.* 258.]

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IN 1709, the widow and the two young Ladies came to England, where they were visited by persons of the first quality; and Swift, lodging within a few doors of their house in Bury-street, St James's, used to be much there, coming and going without ceremony, as if he had been one of the family. [*D. S. p.* 259.] During this

this familiarity, he became insensibly a kind of preceptor to the young Ladies, particularly the eldest, who was then about twenty years old, was much addicted to reading, and a great admirer of poetry. In a person of this disposition, it was natural for such a character as that of Swift to excite admiration, a passion which by frequent converse was softened into complacency, and complacency was at length improved into love. Love itself perhaps was in this case complicated with vanity, which would have been highly gratified by an alliance with the first wit of the age; and thus what neither could have effected alone, was done by the joint effort of both, and she ventured to make the Doctor a proposal of marriage. It is probable, that his connections with Mrs Johnson at this time were such, that he could not with honour accept this proposal, whatever pleasure or advantage it might promise: however, it is certain, he declined it, though without assigning any other engagement as the reason.

He appears first to have affected to believe her in jest, then to have rallied her on so whimsical a choice, and at last to have put her off without an absolute refusal; perhaps, partly, because he was unwilling to give her pain, and partly, because he could not refuse her with a good grace, otherwise than by discovering some particulars which he was willing to conceal. While he was in this situation, he wrote the poem called *Cadenus and Vanessa*, [vol. 6. p. 10.] the principal view of which seems to have been at once to compliment and to rally her; to apologize for his conduct, and soften a tacit denial, by leaving the event undetermined.

This poem appears to have been written about the year 1713, a short time before he left Vanessa and the rest of his friends in England, and returned to the place of his exile, which he always mentioned with regret.

In the year 1714 Mrs Vanhomrigh died; and, having lived at an expence much greater than her fortune would bear, she left some debts unpaid.

Her two daughters, whose fortunes she had also lessened, she appointed joint executrixes of her will; an office which, however troublesome, the situation of their affairs obliged them to accept. It appears too, that they

had contracted some debts in their own right, which it was not in their power immediately to pay: and therefore to avoid an arrest, they followed the Dean into Ireland ‡.

UPON his arrival to take possession of his deanery, and his return after the Queen's death, he was received, according to the account of Lord Orrery [vol. 6. p. 58. note] and Mr Deane Swift, with every possible mark of contempt and indignation, especially by the populace, who not only reviled and cursed him, but pelted him with stones and dirt as he passed along the streets. [*D. S. p.* 178. 183.] The author of the *Observations*, on the contrary, affirms, that he was received by all ranks of men, not only with kindness, but honour; the Tories being then in full power, as well in Ireland as in England, and Swift's service to the church and credit at court being well known. [*J. R. p.* 87.] This indeed was true when he went to take possession: but when he returned to his deanery, the power of the Tories and the Dean's credit at court were at an end; circumstances which might well cause the rabble at least to forget his services to the church. It is certain, that great clamour was then raised by the new men against the late ministry, with whom Swift had been closely connected: they were charged with a design to bring in the pretender; and the same design was consequently imputed to

‡ After the death of her husband and sons, with this increase of wealth, and with heads and hearts elated by affluence, and unrestrained by foresight or discretion, the widow Vanhomrigh and her two daughters quitted the luxurious soil of their native country, for the more elegant pleasures of the English court. During their residence at London, they lived in a course of prodigality that stretched itself far beyond the limits of their income, and reduced them to great distress; in the midst of which the mother died, and the two daughters hastened in all secrecy back to Ireland, beginning their journey on a Sunday, to avoid the interruption and importunities of a certain fierce kind of animals called *bailiffs*, who are not only sworn foes to wit and gaiety, but whose tyranny, altho' it could not have reached the deified Vanessa, might have been very fatal to Esther Vanhomrigh. Within two years after their arrival in Ireland, Mary the youngest sister died, and the small remains of the shipwrecked fortune centered in Vanessa. *O. let.* 9.—— See Orrery's account of Vanessa's character, and of Swift's conduct with her, in vol. 6, p. 10. *et seqq.* in the notes.

to Swift, whom it was therefore considered by some as a qualification for preferment to revile and oppose: which party the mob took, whose fault it has never been to coincide implicitly with a court, posterity must judge for themselves. But it seems probable, that these accounts, however contradictory, may both be true; and that Swift at this time might be the Sacheverel of Ireland, followed by the mob of one faction with execrations, and by the other with shouts of applause *.

It is however agreed, that the Archbishop of Dublin, and some of his old friends in the chapter, set themselves against his measures with all their force, and laboured to disappoint him in the exercise of his power by every art of opposition and delay. But whatever prejudice they had conceived against him was soon removed by the disinterested integrity of his conduct, which was so apparent and striking, that they soon regarded him with respect and veneration, and almost implicitly acquiesced in whatever he proposed.

This removal from England to Ireland was the great event which determined the colour of his life, bounded his views, and shewed him at once what he might possess, and for what he might hope.

There is a time when every man is struck with a sense of his mortality, and feels the force of a truth to which he has consented merely from custom, without considering its certainty or importance. This time seldom happens in the chearful simplicity of infancy, or in the first impatience of youth, when "the world is all before us,"

* We are now no longer to behold Dr Swift of any importance in England: his hopes there are crushed for ever; his ministerial friends are degraded, banished, or imprisoned. Indecent rage, sanguinary zeal, and ill tempered loyalty, revelled at large throughout the three kingdoms, especially in Ireland, where duels were fought almost every week, and where the pest was so universal, that the ladies were as violent as the gentlemen. Even children at school quarrelled for kings, instead of fighting for apples.—— As Swift was known to have been attached to the Queen's last ministry, to have written against the Whigs, and "to have oiled "many a spring which Harley moved," he met with frequent indignities from the populace, and indeed was equally abused by persons of all ranks and denominations. Such a treatment soured his temper, confined his acquaintance, and added bitterness to his style. *O. let.* 6. See vol. 6. p. 58. in the notes.

when every object has the force of novelty, and every desire of pleasure receives auxiliar strength from curiosity: but after the first heat of the race, when we stop to recover from our fatigue, we naturally consider the ground before us, and then perceive that at the end of the course are clouds and darkness; that the grave will soon intercept our pursuit of temporal felicity; and that, if we cannot stretch to the goal that is beyond it, we run in vain, and spend our strength for nought. Great disappointments which change our general plan, and make it necessary to enter the world as it were a second time, seldom fail to alarm us with the brevity of life, and repress our alacrity, by precluding our hopes.

THE Dean, whether by the vigour and activity of his imagination, the multitude of his ideas, or the ardour of his pursuits, escaped the force of this thought, till his retreat to Ireland on the death of the Queen: and then indeed it came upon him with such influence, that, after fifteen years, it constantly recurred when he first awaked in the morning, and was not dismissed till he again began to sleep. [vol. 4. p. 100.]

As soon as he was settled at Dublin, Mrs Johnson removed from the country to be near him; but they still lived in separate houses: his residence was at the deanery, and hers in lodgings on the other side of the river Liffy.

THE Dean kept two public days every week; and though the circle of his visitors is said at first to have been small, yet it soon increased, and always consisted of the best company. [*D. S. p.* 91 180.] Those who were more particularly the companions of his choice, were such as would have done honour to any character. They were the Grattons, seven brothers, the sons of Dr Gratton, a venerable and hospitable clergyman, who gave them all a liberal education. The eldest was a justice of peace, and lived reputably on his patrimony in the country; another was a physician, and another a merchant, both eminent in their professions; three others were clergymen, who had a competent provision in the church; and the youngest was fellow of Dublin college, and master of the great free school at Enniskilling. They were all persons of great merit, as generally

ly acquainted, and as much beloved as any in the kingdom. The Jacksons, a family of which both men and women were genteel, agreeable, and well bred, such companions as no wise man ever wanted, if they could be had; George Rochford, and Peter Ludlow, men of fortune, learning, wit, humour, and virtue; and Mr Matthew Lord, deemed the best lay scholar of his time: These, with the fellows of the college, Dr Walmesley, Dr Helsham, Dr Delany, Dr Stopford, now Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr Sheridan; Lady Eustace, Mrs Moore, Lady Betty Rochford, and Mrs Ludlow, with Mrs Johnson, and her friends, were the persons with whom Swift spent his leisure-hours, from the year 1714 to the year 1720, [*J. R. p.* 90. *&c.*]; a period in which it has been injuriously said, that his choice of companions shewed him of a depraved taste *. There was indeed among his companions one person who could derive no honour from his lineage, a foundling, whom Swift therefore used to call *Melchisedek*, because Melchisedek is said to have had neither father nor mother. This gentleman's name was *Worral*; he was a clergyman, a master of arts, a reader, and a vicar of his cathedral, and master of the song. He was nearly of the Dean's own standing in the college, had good sense, and much humour. He was married to a woman of great sprightliness, good-nature, and generosity; remarkably cleanly and elegant in her person, in her house, and at her table. But there is another particular in Mr Worral's character which greatly contributed to his intimacy with the Dean: he was a good walker. The Dean used this exercise in an immoderate degree, under the notion of its being absolutely necessary, not to health only, but to cleanliness, by keeping the pores of the skin clear, and throwing off impurities by perspiration. Mr Worral's situation in the church naturally engaged his frequent attendance upon the Dean. This attendance commonly ended in a walk; and the walk in their di-

ning

* It is matter of astonishment to find the [illegible] who had enjoyed the highest and the best conversation [illegible] the lowest and the worst: and yet it is [illegible] settlement in Dublin as Dean of St Patrick's [illegible] sions in general shewed him of a very [illegible]

ning together, either at Mr Worral's, or at the deanery. The Dean, being a ſingle man, was oftner a gueſt to Mr Worral, than Mr Worral was a gueſt to him. And this brought on an agreement, that the Dean ſhould dine with him whenever he would at a certain rate, and invite as many friends as he pleaſed upon the ſame terms. This gentleman is lately dead, and left a large ſum of money to be diſpoſed of to public charities, at the diſcretion of his executors; 500 l. of which was appropriated to the Dean's hoſpital. [*D. S. p.* 299. *J. R. p.* 92. *vol.* 4. 340, 1.]

The Dean, when he firſt ſettled at Dublin, was in debt; a ſituation which ill ſuited his ſpirit, and determined him to a ſevere œconomy, with which this agreement with Worral well ſuited. [*J. R. p.* 92.] On his public days, however, the dignity of his ſtation was ſuſtained with the utmoſt elegance and decorum, under the direction of Mrs Johnſon, who yet appeared in the circle without any character diſtinct from the reſt of the company. She was however frequently invited with the Dean, whether to entertainments, or parties of pleaſures, though not ſo generally as if ſhe had been his wife. She viſited, and received viſits, as far as the practice is a mere ritual of good breeding. Her friendſhips ſeem to have been ſtill among the men, but ſhe was treated with great politeneſs by the ladies. [*D. S. p.* 92.]

The Dean's mind had been now ſo filled with politics, that he found it impracticable to excel as a preacher, his firſt and moſt laudable ambition; and frequently declared, that though he ſometimes attempted to exert himſelf in the pulpit, yet he could never riſe higher than preaching pamphlets. [*J. R. p.* 42.] He was however ſtill a good dean, and a good prieſt: He applied himſelf to the care of his deanery, his cathedral, its regulations, its income and œconomy, with great diligence; he renewed the primitive practice of celebrating the holy communion every Sunday; and at this ſacrament he was not only conſtantly preſent, but he conſecrated and adminiſtrated it with his own hands, in a manner equally graceful and devout; he attended at church every morning, and generally preached in his turn; he alſo conſtantly attended the performance of the anthem on a Sunday

Sunday night, though he did not underſtand muſic, to ſee that the choir did not neglect their duty. [*D. S. p.* 370, 1.]

As to his employment at home, he ſeems to have had no heart to apply himſelf to ſtudy of any kind, but to have reſigned himſelf wholly to ſuch amuſements as offered, that he might not think of his ſituation, the misfortune of his friends, and the diſappointment of his hope. Such at leaſt is the account that he gives to Mr Gay, in his letter dated January 8. 1722-3. "I was "three years," ſays he, "reconciling myſelf to the "ſcene and buſineſs to which fortune hath condemned "me; and ſtupidity was what I had recourſe to *." [vol. 4. p. 33.]

It has been ſuggeſted, that the acquaintance he fell into with men of learning, made it neceſſary for him about this time to review his Greek and Latin, and obtain ſome acquaintance with church hiſtory. [*J. R. p.* 101.] But ſurely he who had ſtudied eight hours a-day for ſeven years, or, according to Mr Deane Swift, [*D. S. p.* 271, 272, 276.] ten hours a-day for nine years; he who had read and extracted the fathers more than ſixteen years before, had little occaſion to review his Latin and Greek, or acquaint himſelf with church-hiſtory, leſt he ſhould not ſuſtain his character among learned men: for except it be pretended that others were able to acquire more knowledge in leſs time and with leſs labour, it muſt be allowed that Swift was likely to be always the moſt knowing of his company.

Lord

* From the 1714, till he appeared, in 1720, a champion for Ireland againſt Wood's halfpence, his ſpirit of politics and of patriotiſm was kept almoſt cloſely confined within his own breaſt. Idleneſs and trifles ingroſſed too many of his hours; fools and ſycophants too much of his converſation. However, it may be obſerved, that the treatment which he received after the death of Q. Anne, was almoſt a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify a contempt, if not an abhorrence, of the human race. He had bravely withſtood all hoſtile indignities during the lifetime of that princeſs; but when the whole army of his friends were not only routed, but taken priſoners, he dropt his ſword, and retired into his fortification at Dublin, from whence he ſeldom ſtirred beyond the limits of his own garden, unleſs in great indulgence to ſome particular favourites. *O. let.* 6.

Lord Orrery says, that he was little acquainted with the mathematics, and never considered the science except as an object of ridicule *: but the author of the *Observations* affirms, on the contrary, that he had acquired considerable mathematical knowledge; and that he had seen him more than once undertake to solve an algebraic problem by arithmetic. [*J. R. p.* 101.]

THE first remarkable event of his life that occurred after his settlement at the deanery, was his marriage to Mrs Johnson, after a most intimate friendship of more than sixteen years. This was in the year 1716; and the ceremony was performed by Dr Ashe, then Bishop of Clogher, to whom the Dean had been a pupil in Trinity college, Dublin †. [vol. 4. p. 14.] But whatever were the motives of this marriage, the Dean and the Lady continued to live afterwards just in the same manner as they had lived before ‡. Mrs Dingley was still

* See the notes, above, p. xiii.

† Tho' it is admitted, that Dr Swift was married to Mrs Johnson in 1716, yet it may be asserted with great truth, that he never had any serious thoughts of marriage after he was one and twenty. Some time indeed before, while he was a stripling in the university of Dublin, he had a passion for Miss Warren, the sister of his chamber fellow. But whatever attachments he had to that lady, upon his going to live in England, where he applied himself close to politics and learning at Sir William Temple's, his passion quickly subsided, and he forgot his amour. Neither do I believe, further than common forms, that he ever paid his court, throughout his whole life, to any woman besides, in the character of a professed lover. *D. S. p.* 93, 94.—See Swift's letter to Mr Kendall, vol. 4. p. 288.

‡ Mrs Johnson, with regard to her manners, her virtues, her mind, and her person, was not undeserving to have been married to the greatest prince in Europe: but her descent was from a servant of Sir William Temple; and therefore she was by no means worthy to have been the acknowledged wife of Dr Swift.—If Dr Swift had acknowledged his marriage even with this improved, this adorable creature, he would, in spite of his genius, and all the reputation he had acquired in the days of K. William and Q. Anne, have immediately sunk in the esteem of the world. For among the rest of his enemies, (and these were not few), there were some that were not unacquainted with the story of Mrs Johnson's birth and education, who, on account of some particular disobligations they had received from the Doctor, would have been glad of an opportunity,

ſtill the inſeparable companion of Stella where-ever ſhe went; and ſhe never reſided at the deanery, except when the Dean was ſeized with violent fits of giddineſs, which ſometimes laſted near a month *.

TILL this time he had continued his viſits to Vaneſſa; who, though ſhe had ſuffered very great pecuniary loſſes, had yet preſerved her reputation, and her friends: for ſhe was viſited by many perſons of rank, character, and fortune, of both ſexes; particularly Mrs Conolly, a Lady of very high reputation; Dr Berkeley, the late moſt excellent Biſhop of Cloyne; the late Judge Lindſay †, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Marley. [*D. S. p.* 262.] The Dean appears ſtill to have preſerved the character of her preceptor, to have directed her progreſs in literature, and explained and illuſtrated the authors ſhe had read. But ſoon after his marriage he viſited her on another account; he went as an advocate for Mr Dean Winter, whom

opportunity of expoſing him to contempt and ridicule for the meanneſs of his ſpirit; and as in that caſe they would have had it full in their power, as well as ſtrong in their inclination, they would have publiſhed and confirmed the obſcurity of Mrs Johnſon's birth and education among all their acquaintance. They would have declared, among other particulars, that Mrs Johnſon, when ſhe was about ten or eleven years old, was appointed to wait upon the Doctor's ſiſter in the character of her little ſervant, during the ſummer that ſhe ſpent at Moorpark in 1692. Neither can we ſuppoſe, that even the Doctor's ſiſter, with whom he had quarrelled to ſuch a degree as never to ſee her face, on account of a match he thought greatly beneath her acceptance, [*above, p.* xxiv.], would have ſtifled her indignation, or with any patience have forborn to retaliate the ſeverities of her brother upon his own back, when he himſelf had married and acknowledged a wife ſo very meanly extracted, and particularly that individual perſon whom ſhe deſpiſed and hated beyond all the inhabitants on earth. In one word, if Dr Swift, whoſe ambition was not to be gratified without ſome uncommon degree of admiration, had acknowledged Mrs Johnſon for a wife, he would on all ſides have been ſo perſecuted with contempt and deriſion, (as half mankind were in 1716 his profeſſed enemies), that, unable to ſupport himſelf under the burden of his affliction, he would have loſt his ſpirits, broken his heart, and died in a twelvemonth. And accordingly we find he had more wiſdom than to acknowledge this beautiful, this accompliſhed woman, for his wife. *D. S. p.* 80, 83, 84, 85.

* See vol. 4. p. 291, 292.

† See vol. 7. p. 87, vol. 4. p. 342.

whom he took with him, a gentleman who was a profeſſed admirer of Vaneſſa, and had made her ſome overtures of marriage: but though he had an eſtate of near 800 l. a-year, beſides 300 l. a-year preferment in the church; yet Vaneſſa rejected the propoſal in ſuch terms, as that it was never repeated. She was alſo addreſſed by Dr Price, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhell, but without ſucceſs. [*D. S. p.* 263. 265.] From this time the Dean's viſits were much leſs frequent. In the year 1717 her ſiſter died; and the whole remains of the family-fortune being then centered in Vaneſſa, ſhe retired to Selbridge, a ſmall houſe and eſtate, about twelve miles diſtance from Dublin, which had been purchaſed by her father.

FROM this place ſhe wrote frequently to the Dean, and he anſwered her letters. In theſe letters ſhe ſtill preſſed him to marry her; and in his anſwers he ſtill rallied, and ſtill avoided a poſitive denial. At length, however, ſhe inſiſted with great ardour, and great tenderneſs, upon his poſitive and immediate acceptance or refuſal of her as a wife. The Dean wrote an anſwer, and delivered it with his own hand.

As this letter of Vaneſſa's, which was written in 1723, is a demonſtration that ſhe was then utterly ignorant of the Dean's marriage with Stella, and as ſhe appears to have known it almoſt immediately afterwards, it is probable that the Dean's anſwer communicated the fatal ſecret, which at once precluded all her hopes, and accounted for his former conduct: it is probable too, that the reſentment which he felt at having it thus extorted from him, was the cauſe of the manner in which he delivered the letter; for having thrown it down upon her table, he haſted back to his horſe, and returned immediately to Dublin. [*D. S. p.* 264. *O. let.* 9.]

THIS letter the unhappy lady did not ſurvive many weeks. However, ſhe was ſufficiently compoſed to cancel a will that ſhe had made in the Dean's favour, and to make another, in which ſhe left her fortune, which long retirement and frugality had in a great meaſure reſtored, to her two executors, Dr Berkeley, the Biſhop of Cloyne, and Mr Marſhall, one of the King's ſerjeants at

at law, gentlemen whoſe characters are excellent in the higheſt degree †.

SUCH was the fate of Vaneſſa. And, ſurely, thoſe whom pity could not reſtrain from being diligent to load her memory with reproach, to conſtrue appearances in the worſt ſenſe, to aggravate folly into vice, and diſtreſs into infamy, have not much exalted their own character, or ſtrengthened their claim to the candour of others. If Vaneſſa, by her fondneſs for the gaieties of life, encouraged by the example, and perhaps influenced by the authority of a mother, leſſened her fortune at an age when few have been diſcreet; it cannot be denied, that ſhe retrieved it by prudence and œconomy, at an age when many have continued diſſolute; and was frugal, after the habit of expence had made frugality difficult. If ſhe could not ſubdue a paſſion which has tyrannized over the ſtrongeſt and pureſt minds, ſhe does not appear to have known that it was criminal, or to have deſired that it might be unlawfully gratified. She preſſed a perſon whom ſhe believed ſingle, to marry her; but it does not therefore follow, that ſhe was his concubine; much leſs that ſhe deſired to be reputed ſo, and was then ſolicitous to incur the infamy which has been ſince thrown upon her. It cannot ſurely be believed, that the ſhameleſs and reputed concubine, even of Swift, would have been viſited by ladies of credit and faſhion, or ſolicited in marriage by two clergymen of eminence and fortune, to whom her ſtory and character muſt have been well known. Beſides, Dr Berkeley, after having carefully peruſed all the letters that paſſed between them, which Vaneſſa directed to be publiſhed, with the poem, found, that they contained nothing that could bring the leaſt diſgrace upon the Dean. Hers, indeed, were full of paſſionate declarations of her love; his contained only compliments, excuſes, apologies, and thanks for trifling preſents. There was not in either the leaſt trace of a criminal commerce; which, if there had been any ſuch, it would, in ſo long an intercourſe, have been extremely difficult to avoid: and if ſhe deſi-

† See vol. 6. p. 12. 13.

red to be reputed his concubine *, it cannot be supposed that she concealed any letter which would have proved that she was so, especially as it would have gratified her resentment against him, for refusing to make her his wife. [*J. R. p.* 121. 122. 123.]

If it appears, therefore, that there was no criminal commerce between them, and that she did not desire the world should believe there had been any; it follows, from her directing the publication of the poem, of which perhaps she possessed the only copy, that, in her sense of the verses, none of them implied a fact which would dishonour her memory. And this appears also to have been the opinion of her executors, who, tho' they suppressed the letters, because they contained nothing that could do her honour, yet published the poem; by which it must therefore be supposed they did not think she would be disgraced. [*J. R. p.* 123.]

It has indeed been said, that Vanessa, from the time she was deserted, "devoted herself, like Ariadne, to "Bacchus," [*J. R. p.* 123.]: and perhaps it is true, that, in the anguish of disappointed desire, she had recourse to that dreadful opiate, which never fails to complicate disease with trouble, to leave the sufferer more wretched when its operation is at an end; to divide life into frenzy and despair, and at once to hasten the approach, and increase the terrors of death. But it cannot be thought, that when she made her will, she was either intoxicated or delirious, because the perfect exercise of reason is essential to the validity of the act. No particular of her distress, therefore, can weaken the arguments drawn from the direction in her will to publish the poem and the letters, of which the gratification of her vanity was so evidently the motive, that it is difficult to conceive how it could be overlooked.

From 1716 to 1720 is a chasm in the Dean's life, which it has been found difficult to fill up. That he had no need to repeat his college exercises, has been shewn already; and that, in this interval, he went thro' a voluminous course of ecclesiastical history [*J. R. p.* 101.], seems farther improbable, by a letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated April 5. 1729 [vol. 4. *p.* 91.]; in which

* See vol. 6. p. 11.

which it appears, that he was then reading Baronius, and Baronius was the only piece of church-history that was found in his library. Lord Orrery thinks, with great reason, that he employed this time upon *Gulliver's Travels*. [*O. let.* 16.]

THE author of the *Observations* indeed supposes the Dean's genius to be verging towards a decline in the year 1723, and that *Gulliver's Travels* were written after that time: but in both these suppositions he is probably mistaken; tho' in the former he seems to be favoured by a passage in a letter written by the Dean himself to Mr Pope, dated Sept. 20. 1723. [vol 4. *p.* 40.]

THAT his genius was not declining in 1723, appears by the *Drapier's Letters*, which were not written till 1724; and of these the *Observator* himself says, "his "genius never shone out in greater strength than on "that and the subsequent occasions;" a truth which is universally acknowledged. That *Gulliver's Travels* were written before that time, is equally evident: for Swift went into the north of Ireland early in the spring of 1725; and, in a letter to Dr Sheridan, during his residence there, he puts him in mind of his description of the Yahoos [vol. 4. *p.* 234.]. So that Sheridan must have seen the *Travels* in manuscript, at least in the year 1724. The Dean also, in a letter to Mr Pope, dated Sept. 29. 1725 [vol. 4. *p.* 45.], says, "Oh! if the "world had but a dozen of Arbuthnots in it, I would "burn my *Travels*." It may reasonably be concluded, therefore, that his *Travels* were then all written, and that at this time he was reviewing and retouching them for the press; especially as they were published in 1726; and as he was otherwise employed in 1724, they must have been written at least before 1723.

UPON the whole, perhaps, it is not an extravagant conjecture, that having, according to his own account, wholly neglected his studies for the first three years of his residence at the deanery, and indulged the resentment which his disappointments had produced, till it could be contained no longer, he conceived the first notion of expressing *it in such* a manner as might correct *the enormities which he* exposed; and with this view

immediately began his *Travels*, of which the first copy was probably finished before the year 1720.

ABOUT this time, the Dean, who had already acquired the character of a humourist and a wit, was first regarded with general kindness, as the patriot of Ireland. He wrote a proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures [vol. 3. p. 3.]; a tract which, as it was apparently calculated for the service of Ireland, and zealously condemned a sacrifice of interest to England, made him very popular *. But this service would not perhaps have been so long and so zealously remembered, if a prosecution had not been commenced against the printer. As soon as this measure was taken, the importance of the work was estimated by the diligence of the government to suppress it; and the zeal and integrity of the writer were measured by the danger he had incurred. No public notice, however, was taken of the Dean on this occasion; and Waters, the printer, after having been long harassed and imprisoned, at length obtained a *Noli prosequi*.

THE

* In the year 1720, Swift began to reassume, in some degree, the character of a political writer. A small pamphlet in defence of the Irish manufactures, was, I believe, his first essay, in Ireland, in that kind of writing; and to that pamphlet he owed the turn of the popular tide in his favour. His sayings of wit and humour had been handed about, and repeated from time to time among the people. They had the effect of an artful preface, and had pre-engaged all readers in his favour. They were adapted to the understanding, and pleased the imagination of the vulgar: and he was now looked upon in a new light, and distinguished by the title of THE DEAN.—The flux and reflux of popular love and hatred are equally violent. They are often owing to accidents, but sometimes to the return of reason, which, unassisted by education, may not be able to guide the lower class of people into the right track at the beginning, but will be sufficient to keep them in it, when experience has pointed out the road. The pamphlet proposing the universal use of Irish manufactures within the kingdom, had captivated all hearts. Some little pieces of poetry to the same purpose were no less acceptable and engaging. The attachment which the Dean bore to the true interest of Ireland, was no longer doubted. His patriotism was as manifest as his wit. He was looked upon with pleasure and respect, as he passed thro' the streets: and he had attained so high a degree *of popularity*, as to become an arbitrator in the disputes of property *among his neighbours*; nor did any man dare to appeal from his *opinion*, or to murmur at his decrees. Q. let. 6.

THE Dean did not again appear in his political character till the year 1724. A patent having been iniquitouſly procured by one Wood to coin 180,000 l. in copper for the uſe of Ireland, by which he would have acquired exorbitant gain, and proportionably impoveriſhed the nation, the Dean, in the character of a *Drapier*, wrote a ſeries of letters to the people, urging them not to receive this copper money. Theſe letters united the whole nation in his praiſe, filled every ſtreet with his effigies, and every voice with acclamations; and Wood, tho' he was long ſupported by thoſe who proſtituted the higheſt delegated authority to the vileſt purpoſes, was at length compelled to withdraw his patent, and his money was totally ſuppreſſed *.

UPON the arrival of Lord Carteret, ſoon after the publication of the fourth letter, ſeveral paſſages were

* The popular affection which the Dean had hitherto acquired, may be ſaid not to have been univerſal, till the publication of the Drapier's letters, which made all ranks and all profeſſions unanimous in his applauſe. The occaſion of thoſe letters was a ſcarcity of copper coin in Ireland, to ſo great a degree, that for ſome time paſt the chief manufacturers throughout the kingdom were obliged to pay their workmen in pieces of tin, or in other tokens of ſuppoſititious value. Such a method was very diſadvantageous to the lower parts of traffick, and was in general an impediment to the commerce of the ſtate. To remedy this evil the late King granted a patent to William Wood, to coin, during the term of fourteen years, farthings and halfpence in England for the uſe of Ireland, to the value of a certain ſum ſpecified. Theſe halfpence and farthings were to be received by thoſe perſons who would voluntarily accept them. But the patent was thought of ſuch dangerous conſequence to the public, and of ſuch exorbitant advantage to the patentee, that the Dean, under the character of *M. B. Drapier*, wrote a letter to the people, warning them not to accept Wood's halfpence and farthings as current coin. This firſt letter was ſucceeded by ſeveral others to the ſame purpoſe; all which are inſerted in his works—At the ſound of the Drapier's trumpet, *&c.* [ſee vol. 3. p. 23. in the notes]——This is the moſt ſuccinct account that can be given of an affair, which alarmed the whole Iriſh nation to a degree, that in a leſs loyal kingdom muſt have fomented a rebellion: but the ſtedfaſt loyalty of the Iriſh, and their true devotion to the preſent royal family, is immoveable; and altho' this unfortunate nation may not hitherto have found many diſtinguiſhing marks of favour and indulgence from the throne, yet it is to be hoped in time they may meet with their reward. *O. let.* 6.

ſelected as ſufficient ground for a proſecution; and his Excellency and council publiſhed a proclamation, offering 300 l. reward for a diſcovery of the author. This proclamation gave the Dean a remarkable opportunity to illuſtrate his character. It happened, that his butler, whom he had employed as his amanuenſis, and who alone was truſted with the ſecret, went out in the afternoon of the day of the proclamation without leave, and ſtaid abroad the whole night, and part of the next day. There was great reaſon to ſuſpect that he had made an information; and having received his reward, would never return. The man however came home in the evening; and the Dean was adviſed by his friends to take no notice of his fault, leſt he ſhould be provoked to a breach of truſt, from the dread of which his return had juſt delivered them. But the Dean rejected this counſel with the utmoſt diſdain, and commanding the man into his preſence, ordered him immediately to ſtrip off his livery, and leave the houſe. "You villain," ſaid he, "I know I am in your power; and for that "very reaſon I will the leſs bear with your inſolence or "neglect. I ſuppoſe by this time you are rewarded, or "at leaſt in a fair way of being rewarded for your "treachery."

THE man, in very ſubmiſſive terms, confeſſed that he had been drinking all night, and intreated to be forgiven; but Swift was inexorable. He then begged that he might be confined in ſome part of the houſe ſo long as the proclamation could intitle him to any reward; leſt, when he was driven from his ſervice, and deſtitute of another, the temptation might be too ſtrong for his virtue, and his diſtreſs might involve him in a crime which he moſt abhorred. Swift however was ſtill inexorable; and the man was diſmiſſed. During all the time of danger, Swift obſtinately refuſed to contribute one farthing towards his ſupport, nor could he be perſuaded to ſee his face; but when the time limited in the proclamation was expired, he was permitted to return to his ſervice. Soon afterwards he was called haſtily up by the Dean; who, without any preface, again ordered him to ſtrip off his livery, put on his own cloaths, and then come to him again. The butler ſtared with

ſurpriſe,

surprise, wondering for what crime he had deserved to be turned out of his place. His master observing this, asked him if he had no cloaths of his own to put on? he told him he had. Then go your ways, said the Doctor, and as soon as you have thrown off your livery, and dressed yourself, come back to me again. The poor fellow, tho' he was greatly astonished at this proceeding, knew Swift too well to expostulate; and therefore, with whatever reluctance, did as had been commanded. When he returned, the Dean ordered the other servants to be called up; who immediately attended, expecting that the butler was to be dismissed *in terrorem*, and that they should be warned in very severe terms of his offence. Swift, as soon as they had ranged themselves before him, ordered them to take notice, that Robert was no longer his servant; he is now, said the Dean, Mr Blakely, the verger of St Patrick's cathedral, a place which I give him as a reward for his fidelity. The value of this place is between thirty and forty pounds a-year. However, Robert would not quit his master, but continued to be his butler some years afterwards. [*D. S. p.* 190, 1.] In this instance the Dean exercised his pride, his fortitude, and his equity, in a manner peculiar to himself; and tho' there are many who would equally have rewarded such fidelity, there are few who would have ventured to wait the issue of so severe and dangerous a probation.

From this time the Dean's influence in Ireland was almost without bounds. He was consulted in whatever related to domestic policy, and, in particular, to trade. The weavers always considered him as their patron and legislator, after his proposal for the use of Irish manufactures, and came frequently in a body to receive his advice in settling the rates of their stuffs, and the wages of their journeymen; and when elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many corporations waited to declare themselves, till they knew his sentiments and inclinations. Over the populace he was the most absolute monarch that ever governed men, and he [illegible]

garded by perſons of every rank with veneration and eſteem*.

IT appears by many of his writings, that he lived in great friendſhip and familiarity with Lord Carteret during his lieutenancy, notwithſtanding his Lordſhip had ſigned the proclamation to diſcover him as the writer of the *Drapier's letters*. Swift indeed remonſtrated againſt this proceeding; and once aſked his Lordſhip, how he could concur in the proſecution of a poor honeſt fellow, who had been guilty of no other crime than that of writing three or four letters for the inſtruction of his neighbours, and the good of his country? To this queſtion his Excellency elegantly replied, in the words of Virgil,

——*Regni novitas me talia cogit*
Moliri.—— [*D. S. p.* 270.]

He was equally diligent to recommend his friends to Lord Carteret, as he had been to recommend them to Lord Oxford; and he did it with the ſame dignity and freedom. "Pray, my Lord," ſaid he one day, "have "you the honour to be acquainted with the Grattons?" My

* The name of *Auguſtus* was not beſtowed upon Octavius Cæſar with more univerſal approbation, than the name of the *Drapier* was beſtowed upon the Dean. He had no ſooner aſſumed his new *cognomen*, than he became the idol of the people of Ireland, to a degree of devotion, that in the moſt ſuperſtitious country ſcarce any idol ever obtained. Libations to his health, or, in plain Engliſh, bumpers, were poured forth to the Drapier, as large and as frequent as to the glorious and immortal memory of K. William III. His effigies were painted in every ſtreet in Dublin. Acclamations and vows for his proſperity attended his footſteps where-ever he paſſed. He was conſulted in all points relating to domeſtic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular: but he was more immediately looked upon as the legiſlator of the weavers, who frequently came in a body, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty chieftains of their trade, to receive his advice, in ſettling the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen. He received their addreſſes with leſs majeſty than ſternneſs, and ranging his ſubjects in a circle round his parlour, ſpoke as copiouſly, and with as little difficulty and heſitation, to the ſeveral points in which they ſupplicated his aſſiſtance, as if trade had been the only ſtudy and employment of his life. When *elections* were depending for the city of Dublin, many corporations

My Lord anſwered, he had not: "Why then, pray, my "Lord," ſaid Swift, "take care to obtain it; it is of "great conſequence: the Grattons, my Lord, can "raiſe ten thouſand men" [*J. R. p.* 95.]. He obtained a living for his friend Dr Sheridan; and he recommended ſeveral others, of whom he knew nothing, but that they were good men. [vol. 4. p. 231.]

He uſed alſo to remonſtrate with great freedom againſt ſuch meaſures as he diſapproved; and Lord Carteret having gained the advantage of him in ſome diſpute concerning the diſtreſſes of Ireland, he cried out in a violent paſſion, "What the vengeance brought you among "us? Get you gone, get you gone; pray God al-"mighty ſend us our boobies back again," [*J. R. p.* 25.]; a reply which ſhewed at once the turn, the ſtrength, and the virtue of his mind; as it was a fine compliment to the force of reaſon, by which he had been juſt foiled, and was expreſſed with all the vehemence of his temper, and all the peculiarity of his wit.

He was ſeveral times in England, on a viſit to Mr Pope, after his ſettlement at the deanery, particularly in the years 1726 and 1727.

There is a paſſage in one of his letters to Dr Sheridan [vol. 4. p. 242.] during his viſit in 1726, by which it appears, that he then had ſuch an offer of a ſettlement, in the midſt of his friends, within twelve miles of London, as, if he had been ten years younger, he would gladly have accepted: "but I am now," ſays he, "too "old for new ſchemes, and eſpecially ſuch as would "bridle me in my freedoms and liberalities." He had alſo an invitation from Lord Bolingbroke to ſpend a winter with him at his houſe on the banks of the Loire in France; and this he would have accepted, but that he received an account from Ireland, that Mrs Johnſon was dangerouſly ill. [vol. 4. p. 242.]

Mrs

refuſed to declare themſelves, till they had conſulted his ſentiments and inclinations, which were punctually followed with equal chearfulneſs and ſubmiſſion. In this ſtate of power, and popular love and admiration, he remained till he loſt his ſenſes. *C. let. 6.*

MRS Johnſon's conſtitution was tender and delicate; and, as the Dean himſelf ſays, ſhe had not the *ſtamina vitæ*. In the year 1724, ſhe began viſibly to decay; and, in the year 1726, was thought to be dying. The Dean received the news with agonies not to be felt but by the tendereſt and moſt ardent friendſhip, nor conceived but by the moſt lively imagination, and immediately haſtened back into Ireland. [vol. 4. p. 243.]

IT happened, however, that Mrs Johnſon, contrary to the opinion of her phyſician, recovered a moderate ſhare of health; and the Dean, probably to complete ſome deſign, which in his haſte he had left unfiniſhed, returned again to England in 1727.

FROM England he was once more about to ſet out for France, upon Lord Bolingbroke's invitation, when news arrived of the King's death. [vol. 4. p. 246.]

HE had attended the late Queen, while ſhe was Princeſs, in his former excurſions to England; and he had ſeen her twice in one week by her Royal Highneſs's command in this. She had always treated the Dean with great civility, and the Dean had treated her with his uſual and peculiar frankneſs. The third day after the news of the late King's death, he attended at court, and kiſſed the King and the Queen's hand upon their acceſſion, and was blamed by his friends for deferring it ſo long. [vol. 4 p. 246.]

WHAT proſpect he had of a change in public affairs on this event, or of any advantage which ſuch a change might produce to himſelf or his friends, does not appear; but he was earneſtly intreated to delay his journey. And when he had again determined to ſet out, he was, upon ſome new incidents, again prevailed upon not to go, by the vehement perſuaſion of ſome perſons, whom, he ſays, he could not diſobey. Many ſchemes were propoſed, in which he was eagerly ſollicited to engage; but he received them coldly; not, as it appears, becauſe he was determined no more to enter into public life, but becauſe the ſchemes themſelves were ſuch as he did not approve. However, in the ſame letter in which he ſays, that if the King had lived ten days longer, he ſhould not have dated it from London, but Paris, he *ſays, that his* ſhare in the hurry of the time would not

be long, and that he ſhould ſoon return. [vol. 4. p. 246. 247.]

HE was ſoon after ſeized with one of his fits of giddineſs and deafneſs; a calamity which was greatly aggravated by the news that Mrs Johnſon was again ſo ill, that the phyſicians deſpaired of her life. Upon this occaſion he relapſed into the agonies of mind which he had felt the year before. He expected by the next poſt to hear that ſhe was dead; and intreated that he might be told no particulars, but the event in general; for that, his age being then within three months of ſixty, his weakneſs and his friendſhip would bear no more. As he deſpaired of ſeeing her alive, he determined not to return to Ireland ſo ſoon as he had intended, but to paſs the winter either near Saliſbury-plain, or in France. That he might not be interrupted by company, and condemned to the torment of ſuppreſſing his ſorrow, to preſerve the rules of good-breeding, he quitted the houſe of Mr Pope at Twickenham, and retired to a village near London, with a female relation for his nurſe. The next letter that he received, he kept an hour in his pocket, before he could ſufficiently fortify himſelf againſt the ſhock which he expected when he ſhould open it. However, as Stella's life ebbed by ſlow degrees, and ſometimes ſeemed at a ſtand, if not to flow, his hope of a parting interview revived; and he ſet out for Ireland as ſoon as he was able to travel. [vol. 4. let. 120, 1, 2.]

HE found her alive; but, after having languiſhed about two months longer, ſhe expired on the 28th of January 1727-8, in the 44th year of her age, regretted by the Dean with ſuch exceſs of affection and eſteem, as the keeneſt ſenſibility only could feel, and the moſt excellent character excite.

BEAUTY, which alone has been the object of univerſal admiration and deſire, which alone has elevated the poſſeſſor from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtation, has given dominion to folly, and armed caprice with the power of life and death, was in Stella only the ornament of intellectual greatneſs: and wit, which has rendered deformity lovely, and conferred honour upon vice, was in her only the decoration of ſuch virtue, as without either

wit

wit or beauty would have compelled affection, eſteem, and reverence.

HER ſtature was tall, her hair and eyes black, her complexion fair and delicate, her features regular, ſoft, and animated, her ſhape eaſy and elegant, and her manner feminine, polite, and graceful; there was a natural muſic in her voice, and a pleaſing complacency in her aſpect when ſhe ſpoke.

As to her wit, it was confeſſed by all her acquaintance, and particularly by the Dean, that ſhe never failed to ſay the beſt thing that was ſaid whenever ſhe was in company, tho' her companions were uſually perſons of the beſt underſtanding in the kingdom. [vol. 4. p. 295.]

BUT this dangerous power was under the direction of ſuch ſweetneſs of temper, ſuch general kindneſs, and reluctance to give pain, that ſhe never indulged it at the expence of another.

NEITHER was her wit merely of the colloquial kind. She had great force of poetical fancy, could range her thoughts in a regular compoſition, and expreſs them in correct and harmonious verſe. Of her wit in converſation ſome inſtances will be found in vol. 4. p. 295 under the name of *Bons mots*; and two ſpecimens of her poetry are to be found in vol. 6. p. 186. 270. Her virtue was founded upon humanity, and her religion upon reaſon. Her morals were uniform, but not rigid; and her devotion was habitual, but not oſtentatious.

WHY the Dean did not ſooner marry this moſt excellent perſon; why he married her at all; why his marriage was ſo cautiouſly concealed; and why he was never known to meet her but in the preſence of a third perſon, are inquiries which no man can anſwer, or has attempted to anſwer without abſurdity, and are therefore unprofitable objects of ſpeculation *.

HIS

* If any one ſhould aſk, why this renunciation of marriage-rites? I ſhall anſwer that queſtion by aſking another. Why did not Swift marry this adorable creature in or about the year 1702? was he not exactly at that æra thirty-five, juſt riſing into the meridian of his abilities; and Mrs Johnſon nineteen, in the full ſplendor of the moſt attractive beauty, ſurrounded with every grace, and bleſſed with every virtue, that could allure the affections and captivate the ſoul

His peculiar connection with Mrs Johnſon does indeed appear to have been ſuſpected, if not known, by his particular acquaintance: one of whom had the courage indirectly to blame his conduct ſeveral times, by ſetting before him the example of a clergyman of diſtinguiſhed merit, who married nearly in the ſame circumſtances; but, inſtead of concealing his marriage, retired into thrifty lodgings till he had made a proviſion for his wife, and then returned to the world, and became eminent for his hoſpitality and charity. [*J. R. p.* 63.]

THE Dean, whether moved by theſe repreſentations, or whether by any other motive, did at length earneſtly deſire, that ſhe might be publicly owned as his wife: but as her health was then declining, and his œconomy become more ſevere, ſhe ſaid it was *too late:* and inſiſted that they ſhould continue to live as they had lived before. To this the Dean, in his turn, conſented; and ſuffered her to diſpoſe entirely of her own fortune, by her own name, to a public charity when ſhe died. [*J. R. p.* 56. 288.]

ſoul of the moſt ſtubborn philoſopher? And without diſpute, if the meanneſs of her birth, like an evil genius, had not ſtood in the way to oppoſe her felicity, not all the Dr Swifts upon earth could have reſiſted the force of her inchantments.—As the prime intention of Mrs Johnſon's going over to Ireland was to captivate the affections of Dr Swift, in all probability ſhe ſecretly hoped, from time to time, to complete her conqueſt. But finding upon the Queen's demiſe, when all the Doctor's hopes to gratify his ambition were totally at an end, that altho' her Platonic lover had quitted the noiſe and tumult of a political world, and had retired, like a ſober honeſt clergyman, within the precincts of his deanery, he thought no more upon the ſubject of wedlock than he had done for the preceding fourteen years; her ſpirits might have become dejected, by her frequent revolving in her mind the ſadneſs of her ſituation. If we ſuppoſe this to have been the caſe, it is not unreaſonable to imagine, that Swift, thoroughly and ſincerely our friend, and almoſt her lover, was unable to endure the leaſt diminution in her cheerfulneſs and vivacity [illegible] to raiſe her ſpirits, and to ſecure the fame of her [illegible] of reproach, reſolved to gratify her with the [illegible] ing his *legal* wife. And this indeed, [illegible] how ſtrange ſoever and chimerical it may [illegible] world, was certainly the reaſon that he ever [illegible]

D. S. J. 93. 94. 95.

It appears by ſeveral little incidents, that Stella regretted and diſapproved the Dean's conduct, and that ſhe ſometimes reproached him with unkindneſs; for to ſuch regret and reproach he certainly alludes in the following verſes on her birth-day, in 1726.

O then, whatever heaven intends,
Take pity on your pitying friends!
Nor let your ills *affect your mind*,
To fancy they can be *unkind*:
Me, ſurely me, you ought to ſpare,
Who gladly would your ſuff'rings ſhare. [Vol. 6. p. 137.]

It ſeems indeed to be generally agreed, that Stella was deſtroyed by the peculiarity of her circumſtances; and that the fabrick, however weak by the delicacy of its compoſition, would not have fallen ſo ſoon, if the foundation had not been injured by the ſlow minings of regret and vexation.

But it is alſo generally allowed, that in this inſtance, as in every other, the Dean's intention was upright, tho' his judgment might be erroneous; and, whatever cenſure his behaviour to Stella may draw upon him, it muſt inſure him ſome praiſe, and ſecure him againſt ſome calumny: for it is a demonſtration, that he was the abſolute maſter of thoſe paſſions by which the greateſt have been enſlaved, and the beſt ſometimes corrupted; and if he could abſtain from gratifying theſe paſſions with a lady whom he moſt admired, after the gratification was become lawful, he cannot, with any appearance of reaſon, be ſuppoſed to have indulged the ſame paſſion where there was leſs beauty to attract, and leſs affection to urge, where it would have been attended with guilt and infamy, where the motives were leſs and the obſtacles more. [above, p. lxi.]

From the death of Stella, his life became much more retired, and the auſterity of his temper naturally increaſed. He could not join in the ſocial chearfulneſs of his public days, or bear ſuch an intruſion upon his own melancholy as the chearfulneſs of others. Theſe entertainments therefore were diſcontinued; and he *ſometimes* avoided the company of his moſt intimate friends *.

friends *. But when the lenient hand of time had allayed the anguiſh of his mind, he ſeems to have regretted the effects of its firſt violence, and to wiſh for the return of thoſe whom his impatience had baniſhed. [*D. S.* p. 307, 8.] In the year 1732, he complains, in a letter to Mr Gay, [vol. 4. p. 136.] that he had a large houſe, and ſhould hardly find one viſitor, if he was not able to hire them with a bottle of wine. "I generally," ſays he, "dine alone; and am thankful if a friend will paſs "the evening with me." He complains alſo about the ſame time, in a letter to Mr Pope, that he was in danger of dying poor and *friendleſs*, even his female friends having forſaken him; which, as he ſays, was what vexed him moſt. [vol. 4. p. 178.] Theſe complaints were afterwards repeated in a ſtrain of yet greater ſenſibility and ſelf-pity. "All my friends," ſays he, "have for-"ſaken me." [vol. 4. p. 275.]

Vertiginoſus, inops, ſurdus, malè gratus amicis.

Deaf, giddy, helpleſs, *left alone*,
To *all my friends a burden grown*. [vol. 7. p. 154.]

YET he confeſſes, that, tho' he was leſs patient in ſolitude, he was harder to be pleaſed with company; ſo that even now perhaps his behaviour did not much

* Dr Swift generally ſpent his time from noon till he went to bed, which was uſually about eleven o' clock, in the pleaſures of converſation among a ſet of companions either ſelect or mixed: a courſe of life in which he continued for about thirteen years after the change of times, until the deceaſe of Mrs Johnſon in 1727-8. But when he loſt that companion, whoſe genius he himſelf had been improving and cultivating for at leaſt five and twenty years, he could no longer endure thoſe pleaſures and amuſements which on his public days were conducted, under the eyes and direction of his beloved Stella, with the greateſt elegance and decorum. And accordingly, having ſacrificed to her *manes* theſe polite and rational entertainments, he renounced his public days, and lived during the whole remainder of his life abundantly more retired. *D. S.* p. 181.

invite thoſe whom before it had driven away *. [vol. 4. p. 143.]

This complaint of being forſaken by his female friends, ſhews, that at this time his houſe was not a conſtant ſeraglio of very virtuous women, who attended him from morning till night, as my Lord Orrery has aſſerted [vol. 6. p. 4]; and it ſeems to imply, that the *Obſervator* is alſo miſtaken, when he ſays, that females were *rarely admitted* into his houſe, and *never* came but upon very *particular invitations*. The abſence of perſons whom he kept at ſuch diſtance, and ſo rarely admitted, could ſcarce be ſuppoſed to *vex him moſt*: nor is it eaſy to conceive, in what ſenſe they could be ſaid to forſake him, who never came but upon particular invitation. However, as to the ſeraglio, the *Obſervator* affirms, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and from frequent intercourſe with the Dean, and long intimacy with his moſt intimate friends, that Lord Orrery was groſsly miſinformed, and that no ſuch ever ſubſiſted; Mrs Whiteway, a near relation, who came to live with him ſome time after Stella's death, being the only female in his family, except ſervants.

As he lived much in ſolitude, he frequently amuſed himſelf with writing; as appears by the dates of many of his pieces, which are ſubſequent to this time: And it is very remarkable, that altho' his mind was certainly greatly depreſſed, and his principal enjoyment at an end, when Mrs Johnſon died; yet there is an air of trifling and levity in ſome of the pieces which he wrote afterwards, that is not to be found in any other. Such, in particular, are his directions to ſervants [vol. 7.], and ſeveral of his letters to Dr Sheridan [vol. 4.].

A

* Theſe ſeveral cauſes, added to the death of ſome, the diſperſion of others, and the ingratitude of thoſe who forſook the Doctor's acquaintance, after they had made their fortunes under the ſhelter of his patronage, gave occaſion to thoſe melancholy, thoſe tender complaints, of that once great and admired perſon; whoſe converſation, even in his latter days, after the vigour and ſtrightlineſs of his genius had greatly ſubſided, had ſomewhat in it ſtrangely uncommon, which was not to be remarked in the reſt of human kind. *D. S. p.* 309.

As he was undoubtedly much more tenderly and ſtrictly connected with Stella than with any other woman, ſo his friendſhip ſeems to have been more intimate and unreſerved with Dr Sheridan than with any other man; his letters to him are evidently the ſpontaneous effuſions of his heart, whether he was chearful or ſad, and ſeem to imply a perfect acquaintance with every peculiarity of his circumſtances *.

DR Sheridan was a clergyman of conſiderable parts and great learning. He had in particular an extenſive and critical knowledge of the language and hiſtory of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which he taught with great ſucceſs in a grammar-ſchool of which he was maſter; and it was remarked, that his ſcholars brought to the univerſity, not only much learning, but good morals. This gentleman was by nature ſuited to Swift as a companion in the higheſt degree. He had a vein of humour that was a conſtant occaſion of merriment; he had an abſence of mind, which rendered him a perpetual object of raillery, and an indolent good nature, which made him unapt to take offence; he was always diſpoſed to be chearful, and therefore readily concurred in the entertainment of Swift's hours of pleaſantry; and could, without much pain or diſpleaſure, give way to his petulance or his coldneſs, in his paroxiſms of fretfulneſs and reſerve: he alſo greatly contributed to Swift's amuſement, by little ſprightly pieces of the inferior kind of poetry which he was always writing; and yet more to his employment, by hints and materials which he was every moment throwing out.

WITH this eaſy, negligent, contented creature, Swift paſſed much of his time, as well during Mrs Johnſon's life as afterwards. And tho' there is in general an air of ſuperiority in his letters, and might be ſometimes, in his behaviour, a want of that complacency which no familiarity ſhould exclude; yet it appears that the Dean did not hold Sheridan cheap. Sheridan he loved for his own merit, and was content to have deſerved his love by the intereſt of another. "Stella," ſays he,

* *See his letters on Stella's ſickneſs, and from Sir Arthur Acheſon's, in vol. 4.*

"loved you well; and a great ſhare of the little merit "I have with you, is owing to her ſolicitations." [vol. 4. p. 244. 83. 84.]

In the year 1733, when an attempt was made to repeal the teſt-act in Ireland, the diſſenters often affected to call themſelves brother Proteſtants, and fellow Chriſtians, with the members of the eſtabliſhed church. Upon this occaſion the Dean wrote a ſhort copy of verſes [vol. 7. p. 29.], in which there is a paſſage that ſo provoked one Betteſworth, a lawyer, and member of the Iriſh parliament, that he ſwore, in the hearing of many perſons, to revenge himſelf either by murdering or maiming the author: and, for this purpoſe, he engaged his footman with two ruffians, to ſecure the Dean wherever he could be found. As ſoon as this oath and attempt of Betteſworth were known, thirty of the nobility and gentry of the liberty of St Patrick's waited upon the Dean in form, and preſented a paper, ſubſcribed with their names, in which they ſolemnly engaged, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the liberty, to defend his perſon and fortune, as the friend and benefactor of his country. [vol. 4. p 322.]

Such was the reverence and affection with which Swift was treated in his old age; not by domeſtics or dependents, whom the hope of ſome future advantage might induce to diſſemble; but by perſons of rank and fortune, with whom he had no connection, but as a benefactor to the public, and who, as they had nothing future to hope, could be prompted only by gratitude for the paſt; ſuch gratitude as was never yet excited but by characters very different from actual miſanthropy, or ſordid ſelfiſhneſs.

When this paper was delivered, Swift was in bed, giddy and deaf, having been ſome time before ſeized with one of his fits; but he dictated an anſwer in which there is all the dignity of habitual pre-eminence, and all the reſignation of humble piety. Though he acknowledged the kindneſs of his friends, yet he declared his truſt to be in God. He bewailed his incapacity to receive and thank them, as in juſtice and gratitude he ought; and concluded with a ſhort but pathetic prayer for

for their temporal and eternal happineſs. [vol. 4. p. 322, 323.]

THESE fits of giddineſs and deafneſs, which were the effects of his ſurfeit before he was twenty years old, became more frequent and more violent in proportion as he grew into years. And in 1736, while he was writing a ſatire on the Iriſh parliament, which he called *The legion-club* [vol. 7. p. 45.] he was ſeized with one of theſe fits; the effect of which was ſo dreadful, that he left the poem unfiniſhed, and never afterwards attempted a compoſition, either in verſe or proſe, that required a courſe of thinking, or perhaps more than one fitting to finiſh. [vol. 4. p. 346.]

FROM this time his memory was perceived gradually to decline, and his paſſions to pervert his underſtanding; a calamity to which many particulars ſeem to have concurred.

HIS ſolitude, which has been already accounted for, prevented the diverſion of his mind by converſation from brooding over his diſappointments, and aggravating every injury that he had ſuffered, by all the circumſtances which ingenious reſentment, if it does not find, is apt to create; a reſolution which he had taken, and to which he obſtinately adhered, not to wear ſpectacles, precluded the entertainment which he might otherwiſe have found in books; and his giddineſs, though it was a mere corporal diſorder, prevented the employment of his mind in compoſition. In this ſituation, his thoughts ſeem to have been confined to the contemplation of his own miſery, which he felt to be great, and which in this world he knew to be hopeleſs. The ſenſe of his preſent condition was neceſſarily complicated with regret of the paſt, and with reſentment both againſt thoſe by whom he had been baniſhed, and thoſe who had deſerted him in his exile. A fixed attention to one object, long continued, is known to deſtroy the balance of the mind; and it is not therefore ſtrange, that Swift ſhould by degrees become the victim of outrageous madneſs.

THAT he was weary of life, appears by many paſſages in

in his letters and expreſſions to his friends *. In 1739, three years after his memory firſt declined, he had been ſtanding with a clergyman under a very large heay pier glaſs, which, juſt as they moved to another part of the room, fell down, and broke to pieces. The clergyman, ſtruck with a ſenſe of the danger from which they had eſcaped, turned to Swift, and cried out, "What a mercy "it is that we moved the moment we did! for if we "had not, we ſhould certainly have been killed." The Dean replied, that, as to himſelf, he was ſorry he had changed ground, and wiſhed the glaſs had fallen upon him. [*D. S. p.* 217.]

TILL about the time of this accident, though his memory was become very defective, and his paſſions more violent, yet his converſation was ſtill ſprightly and ſenſible, but mingled with more ſatire, and that ſatire was more bitter. He alſo continued to correſpond by letter with his friends in England; particularly Mr Pope, with whom he had contracted an early friendſhip, which continued till his death. It has been ſaid, that towards the end of their lives it grew cold: but the Dean, in a letter to Lord Orrery, which he wrote a ſhort time before his incapacity, ſays, "When you ſee my dear "friend Pope, tell him, I will anſwer his letter ſoon; "*I love him above all the reſt of mankind.*" [vol. 4. p. 3.]. He has alſo called Mr Pope, his *deareſt* friend in his will [vol. 4. p. 339.]; and Mr Pope, in a letter which was written about the ſame time, makes this requeſt. "Aſ-"ſure him [the Dean], the world has nothing in it I "*admire* ſo much, nothing the loſs of which I ſhould "*regret* ſo much, as his GENIUS and his VIRTUES." [vol. 4. p. 3.]

IN the beginning of the year 1741, his underſtanding was ſo much impaired, and his paſſions ſo much increaſed, that he was utterly incapable of converſation. Strangers

* It was, for many years before the Doctor had loſt his memory, a common ſaying of his, at the time of his parting in the evening with an intimate friend, that uſed to viſit him twice or thrice a-week, "Well; God bleſs you; good night to you; but I hope "I ſhall never ſee you again." In this manner he would frequently expreſs the deſire he had to get rid of the world, after a day ſpent in chearfulneſs, without any provocation from anger, melancholy, or diſappointment. *D. S. p.* 217.

Strangers were not permitted to approach him, and his friends found it neceſſary to have guardians appointed of his perſon and eſtate. [vol. 4. p. 346.]. Early in the year 1742, his reaſon was wholly ſubverted, and his rage became abſolute madneſs. The laſt perſon whom he knew was Mrs Whiteway; and the ſight of her, when he knew her no more, threw him into fits of rage ſo violent and dreadful, that ſhe was forced to leave him; and the only act of kindneſs that remained in her power was, to call once or twice a week at the deanery, inquire after his health, and ſee that proper care was taken of him. Sometimes ſhe would ſteal a look at him when his back was towards her, but did not dare to venture into his ſight. He would neither eat nor drink while the ſervant who brought him his proviſions ſtaid in the room: his meat which was ſerved up ready cut, he would ſometimes ſuffer to ſtand an hour on the table before he would touch it, and at laſt he would eat it walking; for, during this deplorable ſtate of his mind, it was his conſtant cuſtom to walk ten hours a-day. [vol. 4. p. 343.]

In October 1742, after this frenzy had continued ſeveral months, his left eye ſwelled to the ſize of an egg; and the lid appeared to be ſo much inflamed and diſcoloured, that the ſurgeon expected it to mortify: ſeveral large boils alſo broke out on his arms and his body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month; and, during one week, it was with difficulty that five perſons kept him, by mere force, from tearing out his own eyes. [vol. 4. p. 343, 4.]

It has been obſerved, that corporal pain, whether by forcing the mind from that object which has ingroſſed it, or by whatever means, has reſtored lunatics to the uſe of reaſon; and this effect, in a great degree, it produced upon the Dean: for juſt before the tumor perfectly ſubſided, the pain left him, he knew Mrs Whiteway, took her by the hand, and ſpoke to her with his former kindneſs. That day, and the following, he knew his phyſician and ſurgeon, and all his family, and appeared to have ſo far recovered his underſtanding and temper, that the ſurgeon was not without hopes he might once more enjoy ſociety, and be amuſed by the company

company of his old friends. This hope, however, was but of short duration; for a few days afterwards he sunk into a state of total insensibility, slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed upon to walk cross the room. [vol. 4. p. 344.] This was the effect of another bodily disease, his brain being loaded with water. Mr Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of Dublin, pronounced this to be the case during his illness; and upon opening his body, it appeared that he was not mistaken: but tho' he often intreated the Dean's friends and physicians that his head might be trepanned, and the water discharged, no regard was paid to his opinion or his intreaty. [*J. R. p.* 149.]

AFTER the Dean had continued silent a whole year in this state of helpless idiocy, his housekeeper went into his room on the 30th of November, in the morning, and told him that it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual. To this he immediately replied, It is all folly, they had better let it alone.

SOME other instances of short intervals of sensibility and reason, after his madness had ended in stupor, seem to prove, that his disorder, whatever it was, had not destroyed, but only suspended the powers of his mind.

HE was sometimes visited by Mr Deane Swift, a relation; and about Christmas 1743 he seemed desirous to speak to him. Mr Swift then told him he came to dine with him; and Mrs Ridgeway, the housekeeper, immediately said, "Won't you give Mr Swift a glass of wine, "Sir?" To this he made no answer, but shewed that he understood the question, by shrugging up his shoulders, as he had been used to do when he had a mind a friend should spend the evening with him; and which was as much as to say, *You will ruin me in wine.* Soon after he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words; but at last, after many efforts, not being able, he fetched a deep sigh, and was afterwards silent. A few months afterwards, upon his housekeeper's removing a knife as he was going to catch at it, he shrugged up his shoulders, and said, "I am what I am, I am what "I am;" and in about six minutes repeated the same words two or three times. [vol. 4. p. 345.]

IN

As he was zealous to preſerve all the delicacies of converſation, he was always beſt pleaſed when ſome of the company were ladies. And in a letter to Lord Oxford, he ſays, "Since women have been left out of all "meetings, except parties at play, or where worſe de-"ſigns are carried on, our converſation has very much "degenerated†." And in this inſtance, his example is a reproof to thoſe pedants, who ſuppoſe that women are never in their proper ſphere, but in the dreſſing room or the nurſery.

If the converſation turned upon ſerious ſubjects, he was neither petulant in the debate, nor negligent of the iſſue. He would liſten with great attention to the arguments of others; and whether he was or was not engaged as a diſputant himſelf, he would recapitulate what had been ſaid, ſtate the queſtion with great clearneſs and preciſion, point out the controverted particular, and appeal to the opinion either of ſome neutral perſon, or of the majority. [*D. S. p* 368.]

It is, however, true, that he kept his friends in ſome degree of awe: and yet he was more open to admonition than flattery, if it was offered without arrogance, and by perſons of whoſe ability and honeſty he had no doubt. [*J. R. p.* 19.]. In his poem of Baucis and Philemon [vol. 6. p. 45.], which does not conſiſt of quite two hundred verſes, Mr Addiſon made him blot out fourſcore, add fourſcore, and alter fourſcore. It was cuſtomary with his friends to make him ſome little annual preſent on his birth-day; *ſomething*, according to his own definition of a preſent, which was of no great value, but which could not be bought: and Dr Delany, ſoon after he was admitted to ſome degree of intimacy, ſent him, with ſuch a memorial of his eſteem, ſome verſes in which he upbraids him, tho' with great delicacy, for miſapplying his talents; and admoniſhes him to turn the force of ridicule, of which he was ſo great a maſter, upon thoſe who had laboured to employ it againſt the ſacred doctrines of *Chriſtianity*. The Dean, as he had ſuffered Addiſon's correction with approbation, received this admonition with kindneſs: he ſighed, and

† *Propoſal for correcting the* Engliſh tongue, in vol. 2. p. 354.

bered; and among others the following, which may ſerve for examples.

HE happened to be at the caſtle, in the lieutenancy of the Earl of Pembroke, when a learned phyſician was haranguing his Excellency upon the nature and qualities of bees, which he was perpetually calling a nation and commonwealth: "Yes, my Lord," ſays Swift, "they "are a nation, and of great antiquity; you know, my "Lord, Moſes takes notice of them; he numbers the "Hivites among the nations which Joſhua was appoint-"ed to conquer."

HE was another time in company with a lady, whoſe long train happened to ſweep down a fine fiddle, and break it: upon which he immediately cried out,

Mantua væ miſeræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.

BUT his converſation abounded with turns of wit of an higher kind. Being one day at a ſheriff's feaſt, who, after ſeveral other toaſts had been drank, called out to him, "Mr Dean, *The trade of Ireland:*" the Dean turned about, and immediately anſwered, "Sir, I "*drink no memories**." [*J. R. p.* 214.]

HE greatly admired the talents of the late Duke of Wharton; and hearing him, one day, recount many of his frolics, "Ay, my Lord," ſaid he, "you have had "many frolics; but let me recommend one more to "you, *take a frolic to be virtuous.* I aſſure you it will "do you more honour than all the reſt." [*J. R. p.* 216.]

THE Dean alſo greatly excelled in telling a ſtory: and tho' in the latter part of his life he was very apt to tell his ſtories too often, yet his wit, as well as his virtue, was always ſuperior to the wretched expedients of thoſe deſpicable babblers, who are perpetually attempting to put off double entendre and profaneneſs for humour and wit. His converſation was in the higheſt degree chaſte, and wholly free from the leaſt tincture of irreligion. [*J. R. p.* 218.]

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* Dr Brown, Biſhop of Cork, had juſt then printed two pamphlets and preached ſeveral ſermons, in which drinking to memories was zealouſly condemned. *Hawkeſ.*

As he was zealous to preſerve all the delicacies of converſation, he was always beſt pleaſed when ſome of the company were ladies. And in a letter to Lord Oxford, he ſays, "Since women have been left out of all "meetings, except parties at play, or where worſe de-"ſigns are carried on, our converſation has very much "degenerated†." And in this inſtance, his example is a reproof to thoſe pedants, who ſuppoſe that women are never in their proper ſphere, but in the dreſſing room or the nurſery.

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† Propoſal for correcting the Engliſh tongue, in vol. 2 p. 154.

said, with great appearances of regret, that it was *too late*; and from that day took all occasions to distinguish Delany by the name of *friend*.

He had indeed no skill in music, and so was not able to entertain his company with a song, to which some men of great dignity, and great parts, have condescended; but his power of ridicule extended even to music, of which he gave an instance too singular to be forgotten.

Dr. Pratt, who was then provost of Dublin college, had acquired much of the Italian taste for music in his travels: and Tom Roseingrave, a celebrated performer, being just returned from Italy, played a voluntary at St Patrick's cathedral, where Dr Pratt heard him, and Swift was also present. The Doctor happened to dine at the deanery the same day, and was so extravagant in his encomiums on Roseingrave's voluntary, that several of the company said they wished they had heard it. "Do you?" said Swift; "then you shall hear it still," and immediately he sung out so lively, and yet so ridiculous an imitation of it, that all the company were kept in continual laughter till it was over, except one old gentleman, who sat with great composure; and tho' he listened, yet shewed neither curiosity nor approbation. After the entertainment, he was asked by some of the company, How it happened that he had been no more affected by the music? To which he answered with great gravity, That he had heard Mr Roseingrave himself play it before.

Such was Swift as a companion. As a master he was not less remarkable or meritorious.

As he expected punctual, ready, and implicit obedience, he always tried his servants when he hired them by some test of their humility. Among other questions, he always asked whether they understood cleaning shoes; because, said he, my kitchen-wench has a scullion that does her drudgery, and one part of the business of my groom and footman is constantly to clean her shoes by turns. If they scrupled this, the treaty was at an end; if not, he gave them a farther hearing.

His kitchen-wench, however, was his cook, a woman of a large size, robust constitution, and coarse features,

tures, whose face was very much seamed with the small-pox, and furrowed by age. This woman he always distinguished by the name of *Sweetheart*. [vol. 6. p 202.]

IT happened one day, that Sweetheart greatly over-roasted the only joint he had for dinner; upon which he sent for her up, and with great coolness and gravity, "Sweetheart," says he, "take this down into the "kitchen, and do it less." She replied, That was impossible. "Pray then," said he, "if you had roasted "it too little, could you have done it more?" Yes, she said, she could easily have done that. "Why then, "Sweetheart," replied the Dean, "let me advise you, "if you must commit a fault, commit a fault that can "be mended."

To the rest of his servants indeed he appeared to be churlish and austere; but in reality was one of the best masters in the world. He allowed them board-wages at the highest rate then known; and if he employed them about any thing out of the ordinary course of their service, he always paid them to the full value of the work as he would have paid another. With these emoluments, and the fragments from his table, he expected they should find themselves in victuals, and all other necessaries, except the liveries which he gave them. If, in this situation, their expences were greater than their income, it was judged a sufficient reason to discharge them; but on the contrary, as soon as they had saved a full year's wages, he constantly paid them legal interest for it, and took great pleasure in seeing it accumulated to a sum which might settle them in some employment if he should die, or if they found it advisable to quite his service, which seldom happened. And he with whom his servants live long, has indubitable witnesses that he is a good master.

IT is also certain, that, notwithstanding the apparent austerity of his temper, he did not consider his servants as *poor slaves*, to whose service he had a right, in consideration merely of his money, and owed them no reciprocal obligation.

HE had a servant whom he used to call *Saunders*, that lived long with him, and at length fell sick and died. *In his sickness*, which lasted many months,

ſaid, with great appearances of regret, that it was *too late*; and from that day took all occaſions to diſtinguiſh Delany by the name of *friend*.

He had indeed no ſkill in muſic, and ſo was not able to entertain his company with a ſong, to which ſome men of great dignity, and great parts, have condeſcended; but his power of ridicule extended even to muſic, of which he gave an inſtance too ſingular to be forgotten.

Dr Pratt, who was then provoſt of Dublin college, had acquired much of the Italian taſte for muſic in his travels: and Tom Roſſengrave, a celebrated performer, being juſt returned from Italy, played a voluntary at St Patrick's cathedral, where Dr Pratt heard him, and Swift was alſo preſent. The Doctor happened to dine at the deanery the ſame day, and was ſo extravagant in his encomiums on Roſſengrave's voluntary, that ſeveral of the company ſaid they wiſhed they had heard it. "Do you?" ſaid Swift; "then you ſhall hear it ſtill," and immediately he ſung out ſo lively, and yet ſo ridiculous an imitation of it, that all the company were kept in continual laughter till it was over, except one old gentleman, who ſat with great compoſure; and tho' he liſtened, yet ſhewed neither curioſity nor approbation. After the entertainment, he was aſked by ſome of the company, How it happened that he had been no more affected by the muſic? To which he anſwered with great gravity, That he had heard Mr Roſſengrave himſelf play it before.

Such was Swift as a companion. As a maſter he was not leſs remarkable or meritorious.

As he expected punctual, ready, and implicit obedience, he always tried his ſervants when he hired them by ſome teſt of their humility. Among other queſtions, he always aſked whether they underſtood cleaning ſhoes; becauſe, ſaid he, my kitchen-wench has a ſcullion that does her drudgery, and one part of the buſineſs of my groom and footman is conſtantly to clean her ſhoes by turns. If they ſcrupled this, the treaty was at an end; if not, he gave them a farther hearing.

His kitchen-wench, however, was his cook, a woman of a large ſize, robuſt conſtitution, and coarſe features,

tures, whose face was very much seamed with the small-pox, and furrowed by age. This woman he always distinguished by the name of *Sweetheart*. [vol. 6. p 202.]

It happened one day, that Sweetheart greatly over-roasted the only joint he had for dinner; upon which he sent for her up, and with great coolness and gravity, "Sweetheart," says he, "take this down into the "kitchen, and do it less." She replied, That was impossible. "Pray then," said he, "if you had roasted "it too little, could you have done it more?" Yes, she said, she could easily have done that. "Why then, "Sweetheart," replied the Dean, "let me advise you, "if you must commit a fault, commit a fault that can "be mended."

To the rest of his servants indeed he appeared to be churlish and austere; but in reality was one of the best masters in the world. He allowed them board-wages at the highest rate then known; and if he employed them about any thing out of the ordinary course of their service, he always paid them to the full value of the work as he would have paid another. With these emoluments, and the fragments from his table, he expected they should find themselves in victuals, and all other necessaries, except the liveries which he gave them. If, in this situation, their expences were greater than their income, it was judged a sufficient reason to discharge them: but on the contrary, as soon as they had saved a full year's wages, he constantly paid them legal interest for it, and took great pleasure in seeing it accumulated to a sum which might settle them in some employment if he should die, or if they found it advisable to quite his service, which seldom happened. And he with whom his servants live long, has indubitable witnesses that he is a good master.

It is also certain, that, notwithstanding the apparent austerity of his temper, he did not consider his servants as *poor slaves*, to whose service he had a right, in consideration merely of his money, and owed them no reciprocal obligation.

He had a servant whom he used to call *Saunders*, that lived long with him, and at length fell sick and died. In his sickness, which lasted many months,

Swift took care that all poſſible relief and aſſiſtance ſhould be afforded him; and when he died, he buried him in the ſouth iſle of his cathedral, and erected a ſmall piece of ſtatuary to his memory, with this inſcription:

Here lieth the body of
Alexander Magee, *ſervant to Dr Swift,*
Dean of St Patrick's.

His grateful *maſter cauſed this monument to be erected in memory of his diſcretion, fidelity, and diligence, in that humble ſtation.*

Ob. Mar. 24. 1721, *ætat.* 29.

In the original copy, which the author of the *Obſervations* ſaw in the Dean's own hand, the expreſſion was ſtill ſtronger, and more to the Dean's honour, thus:

His grateful friend *and maſter.*

But a perſon of the Dean's acquaintance, who is much more diſtinguiſhed for vanity than wiſdom, prevailed upon him to leave out *friend*, even in oppoſition to his own well known maxim, That a faithful ſervant ſhould always be conſidered, not as a *poor ſlave*, but an *humble friend*. Of this perſon the name is not told; but to conceal it, is rather injuſtice than mercy; for he ought, on this occaſion, to inherit a diſgrace at leaſt proportionate to the honour which he found means to withhold from Swift.

As a member of civil ſociety, he was a zealous advocate for liberty, the detecter of fraud, and the ſcourge of oppreſſion. In his private capacity he was not only charitable, but generous; and whatever miſanthropy may be found in his writings, there does not appear to have been any in his life.

His writings in defence of the poor infatuated people of Ireland are well known; and that he might not be wanting himſelf while he pleaded their cauſe with others, he conſtantly lent out a large ſum of money in ſmall portions to honeſt, diligent, and neceſſitous tradeſmen, who paid it with a ſmall gratuity by way of intereſt to the

perſon

perſon who kept the account of the diſburſements and weekly payments; for he received back theſe loans by a certain ſum out of the weekly profit of the borrower's trade, in ſuch proportions as that the whole ſhould be repaid in a year. [*J. R. p.* 203, 4.]

BESIDES this, he frequently gave away 5 and 10 *l.* when proper objects offered, without any parade. He was indeed diligent to relieve the poor, and at the ſame time to encourage induſtry, even in the loweſt ſtation; and uſed regularly to viſit a great number of poor, chiefly women, as well in the public ſtreets, as in the by-alleys; and under the arches of Dublin. Some of theſe ſold plums, ſome hobnails, others tape, and others gingerbread; ſome knitted, ſome darned ſtockings, and others cobbled ſhoes: theſe women were moſt of them old, deformed, or crippled, and ſome were all three. He ſaluted them with great kindneſs, aſked how they throve, and what ſtock they had? If the ware of any of them was ſuch as he could poſſibly uſe, or pretend to uſe, he bought ſome, and paid for every halfpenny worth ſix pence; if not, he always added ſomething to their ſtock, and ſtrictly charged them to be induſtrious and honeſt. [*J. R. p.* 132, 133.]

IT muſt be confeſſed, that theſe acts of bounty did not appear to be the effects of compaſſion: for of the ſoft ſympathy with diſtreſs that ſometimes ſparkles in the eye, and ſometimes glows upon the cheek, he ſhewed no ſign; and he may therefore be ſuppoſed to have wanted it. However, it is certain, that he was wholly free from ill-nature; for a man can have no complacence in that evil which he is continually buſy to remove.

HIS bounty had not indeed the indiſcriminating ardour of blind inſtinct; and, if it had, it would not have been the inſtrument of equal happineſs. To feed idleneſs, is to propagate miſery, and diſcourage virtue: but to inſure the reward of induſtry, is to beſtow a benefit at once upon the individual and the public; it is to preſerve from deſpair thoſe who ſtruggle with difficulty and diſappointment; it is to ſupply food and reſt to that labour which alone can make food taſteful and reſt ſweet, and to invigorate the community by the full uſe of those members which would otherwiſe become not only de-

leſs, but hurtful; as a limb in which the vital fluid ceaſes to circulate, will not only wither but corrupt. In this view, then, the bounty of Swift was, like every other Chriſtian duty, a reaſonable ſervice. And that he felt no ſecret pleaſure in the calamities of others, may be fairly concluded, not only from his general practice, but from many particular facts, in which he appears to have been watchful and zealous to alleviate diſtreſs by unſolicited and unexpected liberality.

It happened, that a young gentleman of his choir, being abroad with his gun, ſuffered irreparable hurt by its going off accidentally. When the Dean heard of it, he expreſſed great concern; and, having paused a little, "Well," ſaid he, "this will be a good time at once to "reward merit and alleviate diſtreſs; I will make him a "vicar:" which he did accordingly the ſame hour.

There are ſome infirmities to which the mind as well as the body naturally becomes ſubject in the decline of life. The deſire of accumulating wealth almoſt always increaſes in proportion as it becomes more abſurd; and thoſe are moſt tenacious of money to whom money can be of leaſt uſe. It has been generally ſaid, that this weakneſs is the effect of long acquaintance with mankind, who are found to deſerve leſs confidence and leſs kindneſs as they are more known. And indeed, tho' this opinion ſhould not haſtily be admitted, it muſt yet be confeſſed, that the firſt article in which men leſſen their expences, is generally the money they have been uſed to give away, and that they gradually loſe the inclination to do good as they acquire the power. But Swift, if he was not exempt from the infirmity, was yet clear of the vice. If his œconomy degenerated into avarice, it muſt be confeſſed that his avarice did not contract his bounty; and he ſuffers no degradation in his moral character, who, when the practice of any virtue is become more difficult, is yet able to exert it in the ſame degree.

Swift turned all the evil of exceſſive frugality upon himſelf. It induced him to walk when he had been uſed to ride; and he would then ſay he had earned a *ſhilling or* eighteen pence, which he had a right to do *what he* pleaſed with, and which he conſtantly applied

to his uſual charities; which by this expedient he could continue, and yet expend leſs upon the whole than before. But the diſtribution even of this charity was marked with the peculiarity of his character; for that he might proportion his bounty to the neceſſities and the merit of various objects, and yet give but one piece of money at a time, he conſtantly kept a pocket full of all ſorts of coin, from a ſilver three-pence to a crown-piece. [*J. R. p.* 13.]

BUT as his deſire of immediate gain was not gratified at the expence of the poor, to whoſe diſtreſs he was a witneſs; neither was it gratified at the expence of thoſe whom it was impoſſible he ſhould know, tho' he had many opportunities of doing it.

HE once reſolved never to renew a certain leaſe belonging to the deanery, without raiſing the rent 30 *l.* a-year. The tenant had often ſolicited him, inſtead of raiſing the rent, to take a larger fine: and this man, a very ſhort time before the Dean loſt his memory, urged him with a very large ſum, ſuppoſing, that as raiſing the rent could only enrich the Dean's ſucceſſor, and a large fine would come into his own coffer, he ſhould certainly ſucceed. The Dean however maintained his integrity, refuſed the offer with indignation, and fulfilled his purpoſe of raiſing the rent; tho' at this time his memory was ſo bad, that the next day he did not remember what he had done, and his love of money ſo predominant over every thing but his virtue, that tho' he complained of being deſerted, yet he baniſhed his beſt friends, merely to ſave the expence of entertaining them; and would ſometimes refuſe them a ſingle bottle of wine. [*J. R. p.* 208. 145.]

As an eccleſiaſtic, he was ſcrupulouſly exact in the exerciſe of his function, as well with regard to ſpiritual as temporal things. As to his cathedral, he expended more money to ſupport and adorn it than had been applied to the ſame uſe in any period ſince it was firſt built †. He was extremely exact and conſcientious in promoting

† In all buſineſs relating to his chapter, he purſued their public intereſt with firmneſs and conſtancy. He beſides took as much care to regulate his choir, as if he himſelf had really ſome regard

promoting the members of his choir according to their merit, and never advanced any perſon to a vicarage who was not qualified in all reſpects, and in the higheſt degree, whatever their intereſt or however recommended: and he once refuſed a vicarage to a perſon for whom the Lady Carteret was very importunate; tho' he declared to her Ladyſhip, that if it had been in his power to have made the gentleman a Dean or a Biſhop, he would have obliged her willingly; becauſe, he ſaid, deaneries and biſhopricks were preferments in which merit had no concern, tho' the merit of a vicar would be brought to the teſt every day. Nor would he ſuffer one ſhilling of the cathedral-money to be alienated from its proper uſe, even for the purpoſe of charity. When any perſon ſolicited ſuch an alienation, he uſed to tell them that this money was appropriated; but, ſays he, as you declare the perſon to be relieved is an object of Chriſtian charity, I will give out of my private purſe any ſum proportioned to my revenue, if you will contribute a ſum in the ſame proportion to yours. My deanery is worth ſeven hundred pounds, your income is two; if you will give two ſhillings, I will give ſeven, or any larger ſum after the ſame rate. [*J. R. p.* 192.]

As to the poor in the liberty of his own cathedral, they were better regulated than any other in the kingdom; they were all badged, and were never found begging out of their diſtrict: for theſe he built and furniſhed

for muſic. But in this he was always guided by the opinion of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have been judges of harmony. And that his choir might do their duty, particularly on Sunday nights, when variety of the better ſort uſually came to hear the anthem, he conſtantly went to church himſelf. This puts me in mind of an anecdote which happened in thoſe times. An idle, careleſs fellow, but an excellent ſinger, and one of the beſt performers belonging to his cathedral, having laboured for ſome time under the higheſt diſpleaſure of the Dean, was forced to abſent himſelf from the church, and keep entirely out of his ſight. But at laſt, on Sunday evening, having ventured into the ſinging loft, full in the view of the Dean, he began that particular anthem, *Whither ſhall I go, whither ſhall I go, whither ſhall I fly, from thy preſence?* "To "jail, you dog you, to jail," ſaid the Doctor, in a voice loud enough to be heard by many that were about him. But the next morning he forgave the poor ſinner, on his promiſe of amendment. *D. S. p.* 371.

niſhed a little alms-houſe, being aſſiſted by ſome voluntary contributions; and preſerved among them uncommon cleanlineſs and decency, by conſtantly viſiting them in perſon. [*J. R. p.* 8.]

IT has already been remarked, that tho' he did not himſelf underſtand muſic, yet he always attended at the performance of the anthem, that the choir might do their duty. But he had another practice yet more ſingular and more uſeful. As ſoon as the preacher mounted the pulpit, he pulled out a pencil and piece of paper, and carefully noted whatever was wrong, both in the expreſſions, and the manner in which they were delivered, whether they were too ſcholaſtic to be generally underſtood, or ſo coarſe and vulgar as to loſe their dignity; and he never failed to make theſe the ſubject of an admonition to the preacher as ſoon as he came into the chapter-houſe. [*See letter to a young clergyman, in vol.* 7. *p.* 170.]

HE improved even his living of Laracor, tho' he continued there but a ſhort time, and left both the houſe and glebe a convenient and agreeable retreat to his ſucceſſor at a conſiderable expence, for which he knew no return would be made to his executors; and he determined to aſſert his right of abſence againſt the Archbiſhop of Dublin, at the expence of ſeveral hundred pounds, at a time when he did not believe he ſhould ever more claim the privilege for himſelf, becauſe he would not endanger the liberty of his ſucceſſor by an injurious precedent. [vol. 4. p. 247.]

THERE is no act of virtue which men have ſo often ſubſtituted for the peculiar poſitive duties of Chriſtians as liberality to the poor, nor any by which they have ſo often hoped to atone for the breach of every other moral obligation.

BUT the Dean, tho' he abounded in charity, was not leſs diligent in the practice of other virtues, or leſs devout and conſtant in the ſolemnities of religion. He was remarkably temperate both in eating and drinking; he was not only juſt, but punctual in his dealings, and he had an inviolable regard for truth. As he conſtantly attended divine worſhip when he was at home, ſo he uſed always to go early to church when he was in London,

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don; and never to ſleep, without aſſembling his family in his own chamber to prayers.

IT has often been remarked, that virtue in exceſs becomes vitious; and not only precludes the reward of the poſſeſſor, but produces rather miſchief than good to others. An abhorrence of hypocriſy was a ſtriking particular in Swift's character: but it is difficult to determine whether it was more a virtue than a vice; for it brought upon him the charge of irreligion, and encouraged others to be irreligious. In proportion as he abhorred hypocriſy, he dreaded the imputation of it, and therefore concealed his piety with as much diligence as others conceal thoſe vices which cuſtom has not made reputable. His conſtant attendance at church, when he was at the deanery, he knew would be conſidered as the duty of his ſtation; but whatever had the appearance of voluntary devotion, he always took care to hide. When he went to church in London, it was early in the morning; ſo that, tho' he was conſtantly at prayers, and at the ſacrament, yet he appeared to neglect both, as he was at home when others were at church. And when he went to prayers in his family, the ſervants aſſembled at the appointed hour as it were by ſtealth, without any notice from a bell, or any other call, except the ſtriking of the clock; ſo that Dr Delany was ſix months in his family before he ſuſpected him of this unfaſhionable practice. The ſame principle upon which he thus ſtudiouſly avoided appearances of good made him frequently incur appearances of evil, eſpecially when an opportunity offered of indulging his peculiar vein of humour, and gratifying his natural diſpoſition. One inſtance of this has already been given, in his ſolemn addreſs to his clerk from the pulpit by the name of *Roger*, [*above. p.* xxvi.]; but there are others which are leſs excuſable. Soon after he was made Dean of St Patrick's, he had dined one Sunday with Dr Raymond, vicar of Trim, a little town near Dublin. When the bell had rung, the people were aſſembled to evening-prayers; and Dr Raymond was preparing to go to the church, which was not diſtant more than two hundred yards: "Raymond," ſaid the Dean, "I will lay "you a crown that I begin prayers before you this af-"ternoon."

"ternoon:" Dr Raymond accepted the wager; and immediately both run as faſt as they could towards the church. Raymond, who was much nimbler than Swift, arrived firſt at the door; and when he entered the church, walked decently towards the reading-deſk. Swift never ſlackened his pace, but, running up the iſle, left Dr Raymond behind him in the middle of it, and ſtepping into the deſk, without putting on a ſurplice, or opening the prayer book, began the ſervice in an audible voice, and thus won his wager. [*O. let.* 16.]

IT has been common among pretenders to wit, to affect great contempt for every kind of regularity; to live, or pretend to live, in a ſtate of continual diſſipation, without regard to the return of thoſe ſeaſons which have been generally allotted to particular purpoſes, without ſleeping or waking, or eating or drinking, like the reſt of mankind. To recover theſe unhappy wretches from a condition ſo deplorable as to ſuppreſs indignation, and yet ſo contemptible as ſcarce to excite pity, it is here recorded, that the life of Swift was in the higheſt degree uniform and regular; his hours of walking and reading, of exerciſe and amuſement, never varied; and that he might keep the revolution of his employments with greater exactneſs, his watch was almoſt conſtantly either in his hand, or on the table before him.

AS his abhorrence of hypocriſy exempted him from affectation, the natural equity of his mind ſecured him againſt envy. Envy ſeems to be a deſire of equality, gratified by degrading others; as emulation is a deſire of equality, gratified by advancing ourſelves. It does not appear that Swift upon a ſuppoſition that he had no ſuperior, was without emulation; but by his ready aſſiſtance to advance the reputation and circumſtances of others, he appears to have been free from envy.

HE cultivated genius where-ever he found it, and in whatever degree, with great zeal and aſſiduity, and would chearfully ſpend much time in correcting and improving any literary compoſition that had the leaſt appearance of ingenuity. Nor was this kindneſs confined to thoſe whoſe parts could never come in competition with his own. He ſtarted many hints to Mr Gay, which

which he purſued with great ſucceſs; and he recommended Congreve, Addiſon, Parnel, and many others, to thoſe whoſe favour was moſt likely to render them conſpicuous.

AMONG his ſingularities, were his reſolutions never to wear ſpectacles; and his obſtinate perſeverance in the uſe of too much exerciſe. His want of ſpectacles made it difficult to read, and his immoderate exerciſe waſted his fleſh, and produced a poorneſs in his blood, as he was often told by his friends and phyſicians, Dr Helſham and Dr Grattan, and as afterwards appeared by experiment; for when he was reduced to a ſtate of idiotiſm, and ceaſed from walking, he recovered his fleſh in a ſhort time

HE was cleanly even to ſuperſtition; his nails were always pared to the quick, to prevent the leaſt gathering of dirt under them; and he never dreſſed without a baſon of water by him, with which he carefully cleanſed his feet. In his perſon he was robuſt and maſculine, his deportment was commanding, and his walk erect. His voice was ſharp and high-toned, eſpecially when he read prayers, but not effeminate; and there was a natural ſeverity in his aſpect, which even his ſmiles could ſcarce ſoften nor his utmoſt gaiety relax. [*O. Let.* 9.]

HIS manner was without ceremony, but not ruſtic; for he had a perfect knowledge of all the modes and variations of politeneſs and complaiſance, which he practiſed in a manner peculiar to himſelf; and the reſpect that was due to him by theſe rules, he took care to exact without the leaſt abatement. [*D. S. p.* 360, 65.]

IT will readily be admitted, that every man has ſome appetite, affection, or diſpoſition, which either in kind or in degree is irregular, and which it is the province of reaſon to order and reſtrain As it will always happen, that in ſome inſtances paſſion will predominate, and reaſon in others, it follows, that there muſt be ſome diſſimilitude in every character; from which Swift's could not therefore be exempt: but, upon the whole, it will be found uncommonly ſteady and uniform; tho' ſome, to ſcreen their own ſcattered and inconſiſtent repreſentations of it from cenſure, have pretended, that it was capricious, various and contradictory.

SWIFT

SWIFT appears to have been naturally temperate and chaſte, it was therefore eaſy for him to be frugal; but he was alſo naturally high ſpirited: and therefore as wealth is the pledge of independence, it is not ſtrange his frugality ſhould verge towards exceſs. However, as he acted upon principles, not only of general virtue, but of the nobleſt moral ſyſtem of Chriſtianity, he did not deliver himſelf up to natural propenſities, when they were contrary to his duty; and therefore his love of money did not contract his charity to the poor, or defraud his ſucceſſors to enrich himſelf. The ſame ſpirit which ſecured his integrity, by diſdaining the meanneſs of a lie, produced that dread of hypocriſy which concealed his piety, and betrayed him into appearances of evil: and the ſame want of natural tenderneſs, which made him appear obdurate and auſtere, transferred the diſtribution of his liberality from inſtinct to religion, and made that, which in others is an exerciſe of ſelf-love, in him an act of obedience to God.

SUCH was Dr Jonathan Swift, whoſe writings either ſtimulate mankind to ſuſtain their dignity as rational and moral beings, by ſhewing how low they ſtand in mere animal nature; or fright them from indecency, by holding up its picture before them in its native deformity: and whoſe life, with all the advantages of genius and learning, was a ſcale of infelicity gradually aſcending, till pain and anguiſh deſtroyed the faculties by which they were felt: while he was viewed at a diſtance with envy, he became a burden to himſelf; he was forſaken by his friends, and his memory has been loaded with unmerited reproach: his life therefore does not afford leſs inſtruction than his writings, ſince to the wiſe it may teach humility, and to the ſimple content.

Some particulars in Dr SWIFT's CHARACTER, extracted from Lord ORRERY's Remarks, and Mr SWIFT's Eſſay.

From LORD ORRERY.

DR Swift was in the decline of life when I knew him. His friendſhip was an honour to me; and, to ſay the truth, I have even drawn advantage from his errors. I have beheld him in all humours and diſpoſitions; and I have formed various ſpeculations from the ſeveral weakneſſes to which I obſerved him liable. His capacity and ſtrength of mind were undoubtedly equal to any taſk whatever. His pride, his ſpirit, or his ambition, call it by what name you pleaſe, was boundleſs; but his views were checked in his younger years, and the anxiety of that diſappointment had a viſible effect upon all his actions. He was ſour and ſevere, but not abſolutely ill-natured. He was ſociable only to particular friends, and to them only at particular hours. He knew politeneſs more than he practiſed it. He was a mixture of avarice and generoſity: the former was frequently prevalent; the latter ſeldom appeared, unleſs excited by compaſſion. He was open to adulation; and could not, or would not diſtinguiſh between low flattery, and juſt applauſe. His abilities rendered him ſuperior to envy. He was undiſguiſed, and perfectly ſincere. I am induced to think, that he entered into orders, more from ſome private and fixed reſolution, than from abſolute choice. Be that as it may, he performed the duties of the church with great punctuality, and a decent degree of devotion. He read prayers rather in a ſtrong nervous voice, than in a graceful manner: and altho' he has been often accuſed of irreligion, nothing of that kind appeared in his converſation or behaviour. His caſt of mind induced him to think and ſpeak more of politics than of religion. His perpetual views were directed towards power; and his chief aim was to be removed

removed into England: but when he found himſelf entirely diſappointed, he turned his thoughts to oppoſition, and became the patron of Ireland.

FEW characters have afforded ſo great a variety of faults and beauties. Few men have been more known and admired, or more envied and cenſured, than Dr Swift. From the gifts of nature he had great powers, and from the imperfection of humanity he had many failings. I always conſidered him as *an abſtract and brief chronicle of the times*; no man being better acquainted with human nature, both in the higheſt and in the loweſt ſcenes of life. His friends and correſpondents were the greateſt and moſt eminent men of the age. The ſages of antiquity were often the companions of his cloſet: and altho' he induſtriouſly avoided an oſtentation of learning, and generally choſe to draw his materials from his own ſtore; yet his knowledge in the ancient authors evidently appears from the ſtrength of his ſentiments, and the claſſic correctneſs of his ſtyle.

HIS attendance upon the public ſervice of the church was regular and uninterrupted. And indeed regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the greateſt trifles. His hours of walking and reading never varied. His motions were guided by his watch, which was ſo conſtantly held in his hand, or placed before him upon his table, that he ſeldom deviated many minutes, in the daily revolution of his exerciſes and employments.

From Mr DEANE SWIFT.

THE character of Dr Swift is ſo exceedingly ſtrange, various and perplexed, that it can never be drawn up with any degree of accuracy. I ſhall however remark ſome few particulars, without venturing to attempt the delineation of a character, which hath entirely baffled all endeavours hitherto made, either by friends or enemies.

SWIFT's natural temper ſeems to have been a miraculous compound of the placid and the ſevere. The placid frequently had the ſuperiority in his breaſt; and the ſevere in its turn, when excited by the follies and cor-

ruptions of human-kind, as frequently, the predominance.

HE was by nature of a ſpirit wonderfully exalted. His pride, if pride it muſt be called, was of a turn peculiar to himſelf. His whole deportment was of a piece. He would not have ſtooped to converſe with the greateſt monarch in Europe, upon any terms lower than equality.

HE knew to a point the reſpect that was due to him; which he took care to exact without any ſort of abatements. It will appear from the following inſtance, with what quickneſs he reſented any failure in good manners. An Engliſh clergyman, appointed a Biſhop in Ireland, ſent his ſervant one morning to the Dean, to beg the favour of him to order St Patrick's cathedral to be got ready againſt the next Sunday for his conſecration. The Doctor would by no means grant his requeſt; but ſaid, he would order the church to be in readineſs againſt the Sunday following. When the ſervant was gone, the Doctor told a friend, then with him, that he could as well have had the church ready againſt the next, as againſt the following Sunday: but, ſaid he, my reaſon for refuſing to grant that gentleman's requeſt was, becauſe he ought to have come himſelf, and not ſent his ſervant to me upon ſuch a meſſage.

NEITHER could he endure to be treated with any ſort of familiarity, or that any man living (his three or four old acquaintances in England only excepted) ſhould rank himſelf in the number of his friends. A young perſon of quality, upon ſome occaſion or other, once ventured to addreſs Dr Swift in the ſtyle of *Dear Swift*, and call himſelf the Doctor's *friend*. When the Dean opened his letter, which was deſigned as a compliment, his indignation took inſtant fire. *Dear Swift!* ſaid he; what monſtrous familiarity is here! But when he found the letter-writer had called himſelf his friend, he was out of all patience. "My friend! my friend!" ſaid he; "piſh, pſha; my friend! But—" (ſaid he, recollecting himſelf)—"he is a Lord, and ſo let it paſs."

SWIFT's ſpirit was formed with a ſtrong reluctance to ſubmiſſion of any kind; and particularly he paid no regard to the monitions of his friends and phyſicians, who had,

had frequently admoniſhed him of his over-exerciſe. This was not owing to his being weary of life. It was from an old ſettled principle, confirmed and rivetted in his mind, when he was in the height of his glory, and the meridian of his life: A principle indeed, which he maintains, or at leaſt endeavours to maintain, with infinite wit and humour, in a letter to Mrs Johnſon, Nov. 3. 1711, who had adviſed him to take phyſic upon the fall of the leaf. "A fig," (ſaith he), "Madam, for your "phyſician. If I grow worſe, I will; otherwiſe I will "truſt to temperance and exerciſe. Your fall of a "leaf? What care I when the leaves fall? I am ſorry "to ſee them fall with all my heart; but why ſhould "I take phyſic becauſe leaves fall off from trees? That "wont hinder them from falling. If a man falls off a "horſe, muſt I take phyſic for that? This arguing "makes you mad; but it is true right reaſon, not to "be diſputed."

He was not only above all tincture of envy in his compoſition; but his talents were ſo great, that he was totally ſuperior to the emulation of all inferior wits. They every one of them bowed down to him as to the viceroy of Apollo.

The dæmon of malice was alſo a ſtranger to his heart: and well it might; for if at any time he was attacked with injurious treatment, he never ſmothered his revenge, like a way-laying coward, until a ſafer opportunity; but, like a brave and generous ſpirit, knocked down his adverſary directly on the ſpot.

The common vices and foibles of human-kind he laſhed with great ſeverity, in order to reſtrain their influence, and, if it were poſſible, to hinder the contagion from ſpreading in the community; yet ſtill without making examples of particular perſons. But ſlaves to party, and traitors to the public intereſt, he expoſed without mercy to the deriſion of the world. It may be thought perhaps that private animoſity frequently gave an edge to his ſatire. I cannot tell but in ſome caſes it might. But then it ſhould be conſidered, that Dr Swift never looked upon himſelf in the character of a private perſon. He knew, that a patriot, like an Aſiatic prince, muſt make himſelf dreaded. If he be once foiled, his

power is at an end. And without controverſy, dominion, abſolute dominion, he had reſolved to poſſeſs over the minds of men, eſpecially over the minds of his countrymen; and accordingly he did poſſeſs it.

Swift was certainly a man of great ambition, tho' he denies it in his writings. But his ambition, ever directed by the rules of honour, was of a noble, exalted ſtrain, worthy to be cheriſhed in the breaſt of an angel. [vol. 4. p. 119.]

In his private character he was a man of fine addreſs, and perfectly well bred. He knew to a point all the modes and variations of complaiſance and politeneſs. And yet his manners were not framed like thoſe of any other mortal; but, corrected by general obſervation, and adapted to his own peculiar turn of genius, they ſhone forth, always enlivened more or leſs with ſome ſpirit of dominion, in a blaze of politeneſs, ſo inimitably and ſo determinately his own, that in effect they ſeemed to be the reſult of pure nature, uncopied from any the brighteſt or the faireſt original.

Swift talked a great deal in all companies, without ingroſſing the converſation to himſelf, [*above*, *p.* lxxxiv.] In the character of a *tete à tete* companion, he rather excelled himſelf. Few that are equal to him in that reſpect, perhaps none that are his ſuperiors, can be found upon earth. He was by no means in the claſs with thoſe who pour down their eloquence like a torrent, driving all before it. Far from any deſires of that ſort, he equally loved to ſpeak, and loved to hearken. Like Falſtaff, he not only had wit himſelf, but frequently was the cauſe of wit in others. However, that univerſal reverence which was paid to his great abilities, frequently ſtruck a damp on the ſpirits of thoſe who were not perfectly well acquainted with him: an effect of modeſty, which however did not always happen to be conſtrued to their advantage, unleſs in the caſe of very young people. For when ſuch perſons were gone, if none but his intimates were preſent, he would expreſs himſelf with ſome degree of emotion, and cry, Such a one, I have heard, is a very great man; or, Such a one, they ſay, has abundance of learning; or, Such a one, I have been told,

told, has an excellent underſtanding; but God deliver me from ſuch companions!

If we conſider Swift as a divine and a Chriſtian, we ſhall find him, altho' not ſo grave, yet at leaſt as perfect, as the moſt famous of his contemporaries. His firſt ſetting out in the world may be thought ſomewhat ſingular, in this profane, hypocritical, corrupted age. We are aſſured from his own accounts, that his ideas of religion were ſo extremely delicate, that he could not but entertain ſome ſcruple, notwithſtanding his fortune was very ſmall, of entering into the church merely for ſupport; altho it is plain, that he had early ſeparated himſelf to the work of the miniſtry. He was of a genius thoroughly well adapted for the improvement of any congregation whatever, his arguments being always clear, cogent, and ſatisfactory. But ſurely thoſe improved, extenſive abilities, which rendered him at once the delight and the admiration of the world, were never deſigned by his Creator to be confined within the narrow limits of any pariſh or dioceſe.

In his private character as a man of religion, he appears to have been a great and ſhining example of Chriſtian faith and morals. In himſelf, he was chaſte, ſober, and temperate. I remember he once told me occaſionally, that he never had been drunk in his life. In his general behaviour, he was open, free, diſengaged, and cheerful. In his dealings with the world, he was honeſt and ſincere. In relieving the poor and the diſtreſſed, he was liberal to profuſion; if denying himſelf, and throwing upon the waters above a third part of his income, will intitle him to the character of being exceedingly generous. With regard to his faith, he was truly orthodox. Moreover, he was regular, exceedingly regular, in all his duties to God, eſpecially in attending the public worſhip; yet ſtill without any parade, or colour of oſtentation. But to crown his whole character as a man of religion, and to ſhew how much he deteſted that ſatanical vice of hypocriſy, I ſhall tranſcribe a paragraph from a ſermon of his, not yet publiſhed, *On the excellency of the Chriſtian religion, oppoſed to Heathen philoſophy*. "Chriſtian wiſdom (ſaith he) is without "partiality. It is not calculated for this or that nation

" or people, but the whole race of mankind; not to " the philoſophical ſchemes, which were narrow and " confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, govern- " ments, or ſects; but in every nation, he that feareth " God, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with " him. Laſtly, It is without hypocriſy: it appears to " be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doc- " trines of the goſpel, we are ſo far from being allowed " to publiſh to the world thoſe virtues we have not, " that we are commanded to hide even from ourſelves " thoſe we really have, and not to let our right hand " know what our left hand does; unlike ſeveral " branches of the Heathen wiſdom, which pretended " to teach inſenſibility and indifference, magnanimity " and contempt of life, while at the ſame time in other " parts it belied its own doctrines."

SEVERAL other particulars in Swift's character, and various anecdotes concerning him, will be found in the notes throughout all the eight volumes, particularly in the Criticiſms prefixed to vols 1. 6. & 4.

SOME

Some Particulars concerning Dr Swift.

Taken from Mrs Pilkington's Memoirs.

Mrs Pilkington's acquaintance with Dr Swift commenced from ſending him the lines on his birth-day, vol. 7. p. 161. Theſe the Dean received very kindly, and ſaid, he would ſee her whenever ſhe pleaſed.

A few days after, ſhe was introduced to the Dean in Dr Delany's garden at Delville, by a gentlewoman. He ſaluted her, and aſked the lady, if ſhe was her daughter? The lady ſmiled, and ſaid, ſhe was Mrs Pilkington. "What," ſays he, "this poor little child "married! God help her, ſhe is early engaged to "trouble." The Dean engaging Mr Pilkington to preach for him at the cathedral next Sunday, invited her, with the reſt of the company, to dinner. As the communion is adminiſtred every Sunday in St Patrick's church, Mrs Pilkington was charmed to ſee with what a becoming piety the Dean performed that holy ſervice, which he had ſo much at heart, that he wanted not the aſſiſtance of the liturgy, but went quite thro' it without ever looking in the book. He bowed at the table; which behaviour was cenſured, as ſavouring of Popery. But this circumſtance may vindicate him from the wicked aſperſion of being deemed an unbeliever, ſince it is plain he had the utmoſt reverence for the euchariſt. Service being ended, the Dean was ſurrounded at the church-door, by a croud of poor; to all of whom he gave charity, except an old woman, who held out a very dirty hand to him. He told her, very gravely, That tho' ſhe was a beggar, water was not ſo ſcarce but ſhe might have waſhed her hands. When they came to the deanery, the Dean kindly ſaluted Mrs Pilkington, and, without allowing her time to ſit down, bade her come and ſee his library; but merrily told Mr Pilkington, who was for following them, that he did not deſire his company. "Well," ſaid he to her, "I have "brought you here to ſhew you all the money I got "when I was in the miniſtry; but don't ſteal any of "it." "I won't indeed, Sir," ſaid ſhe. So opening a cabinet,

cabinet, he ſhewed her a parcel of empty drawers: "Bleſs "me," ſays he, "the money is flown." He then opened his bureau, wherein he had a great number of curious trinkets of various kinds, ſome of which were preſented to him by the Earl and Counteſs of Oxford, Lady Maſham, and Lady Betty Germain. At laſt coming to a drawer filled with medals, he bade her chuſe two for herſelf; but he could not help ſmiling, when ſhe began to poize them in her hands, chuſing them by weight rather than antiquity.

AT dinner the Dean's behaviour was very humorous. He placed himſelf at the head of his table oppoſite to a great pier glaſs, ſo that he could ſee in the glaſs whatever the ſervants did behind him. Turning his eye on the looking glaſs, he eſpied the butler opening a bottle of ale; and helping himſelf to the firſt glaſs, he very kindly jumbled the reſt together, that his maſter and gueſts might all fare alike. "Ha! friend," ſaid the Dean, "Sharp's the word, I find; you drank my ale. for which "I ſtop two ſhillings off your board-wages this week; for "I ſcorn to be out-done in any thing, even in cheating."

DINNER being ended, the Dean thanked Mr Pilkington for his ſermon: "I never," ſaid he, "preached but "twice in my life; and then they were not ſermons, "but pamphlets." Mrs Pilkington aſked him, what might be the ſubject of them? He told her, they were againſt Wood's halfpence. Having aſked Mr and Mrs Pilkington if they could ſmoke? and being anſwered, that they did not; "'Tis a ſign," ſaid he, "you were "neither of you bred in the univerſity of Oxford; for "drinking and ſmoking are the firſt rudiments of learn-"ing taught there; and in thoſe two arts no univerſi-"ty in Europe can outdo them." Having aſked Mrs Pilkington, if ſhe had any faults? "Pray, Mr Dean," ſaid Dr Delany, "why will you be ſo unpolite as to "ſuppoſe Mrs Pilkington has any faults?" "I'll tell "you," replied the Dean; "whenever I ſee a number "of agreeable qualities in any perſon, I am always ſure "they have bad ones ſufficient to poize the ſcale." Mrs Pilkington bowed, and told him, he did her great honour; in that copying Bp Berkley, whom ſhe had frequently heard declare, That when any ſpeech was made

made to him, which might be conſtrued either into a compliment or an affront, or that had two handles, he always took hold of the beſt.

The Dean then aſked Mrs Pilkington, if ſhe were a Queen, what ſhe would chuſe to have after dinner? She anſwered, "Your converſation, Sir." "Pooh!" ſaid he, "I mean, what regale." "A diſh of coffee, "Sir," anſwered ſhe. 'Why then," ſaid he, "I "will ſo far make you as happy as a Queen; you ſhall "have ſome in perfection: for when I was chaplain to "the Earl of Berkeley, who was in the government "here. I was ſo poor, I was obliged to keep a coffee-"houſe, and all the nobility reſorted to it to talk trea-"ſon." The Dean then ſet about making the coffee: but the fire ſcorching his hand, he called to Mrs Pilkington to reach him his glove; and changing the coffee pot to his left hand, held out his right one, ordering her to put the glove on it; which accordingly ſhe did; when taking up part of his gown to fan himſelf with, and acting in character of a prudiſh lady, he ſaid, "Well, I don't know what to think: women may be "honeſt that do ſuch things; but, for my part, I ne-"ver could bear to touch any man's fleſh—except my "huſband's; whom, perhaps," (ſaid he), "ſhe wiſhed "at the devil."

"Mr Pilkington," ſaid he, "you would not tell "me your wife's faults; but I have found her out to "be a d—n'd inſolent, proud, unmannerly ſlut." "What has ſhe done now?" ſaid Mr Pilkington. "Done," ſaid the Dean; "why nothing, but ſat there "quietly, and never once offered to interrupt me in "making the coffee; whereas a lady of modern good "breeding would have ſtruggled with me for the cof-"fee-pot, till ſhe had made me ſcald myſelf and her, "and made me throw the coffee in the fire, or perhaps "at her head, rather than permit me to take ſo much "trouble for her."

Mrs Pilkington ſtaid at home with the Dean during the time of the afternoon's ſervice; and he made her read his hiſtory of the four laſt years of Q. Anne, aſking her at the concluſion of every period, whether ſhe underſtood it? "for I would," ſaid he, "have it in-

"telligible

" telligible to the meaneſt capacity; and if you com-
" prehend it, 'tis poſſible every body may."

SHE accompanied the Dean to evening-prayer; and on their return to the deanery, he told Mr and Mrs Pilkington, that he gave them leave to ſtay to ſupper; which from him was a ſufficient invitation. The Dean then decanted a bottle of wine; and the laſt glaſs being muddy, he called to Mr Pilkington to drink it; " for," ſays he, " I always keep ſome poor parſon to " drink the foul wine for me." Mr Pilkington entering into his humour, thanked him, and told him, he did not know the difference, but was glad to get a glaſs at any rate. " Why then," ſaid the Dean, " you " ſhan't; for I'll drink it myſelf. Why p—x take " you, you are wiſer than a paltry curate whom I aſk-
" ed to dine with me a few days ago; for upon my ma-
" king the ſame ſpeech to him, he told me he did not " underſtand ſuch uſage; and ſo walked off without his " dinner. By the ſame token, I told the gentleman " who recommended him to me, that the fellow was a " blockhead, and I had done with him."

THE Dean then miſſing his golden bottle-ſcrew, told Mrs Pilkington very ſternly, he was ſure ſhe had ſtolen it. She affirmed very ſeriouſly, ſhe had not. Upon which he looked for it, and found it where he himſelf had laid it: " 'Tis well for you," ſaid he, " that I " have got it, or I would have charged you with theft." " Why, pray, Sir," ſaid ſhe, " ſhould I be ſuſpected " more than any other perſon in the company?" " For " a very good reaſon," ſaid he, " becauſe you are the " pooreſt."

AT their going away, the Dean handed Mrs Pilkington down all the ſteps to the coach, thanking them for the honour of their company, at the ſame time ſlipping into her hand as much money as Mr Pilkington and ſhe had given at the offering in the morning, and coach-hire alſo; which ſhe durſt not refuſe, leſt ſhe ſhould have been deemed as great a blockhead as the parſon who refuſed the thick wine.

IN one of the Dean's periodical fits of deafneſs, he ſent for Mrs Pilkington; who having come, he brought out *to her* a large book, finely bound in turkey leather, and

and handſomely gilt: "This," ſaid he, "is a tranſla-
"tion of the epiſtles of Horace, a preſent to me from
"the author; 'tis a ſpecial good cover; but I have a
"mind there ſhould be ſomething valuable within ſide
"of it." So taking out his penknife, he cut out all the leaves cloſe to the inner margin. "Now," ſaid he, "I will give theſe what they greatly want;" and put them all into the fire. "Your taſk, Madam, is to paſte "in theſe letters, in this cover, in the order I ſhall give "them to you: I intended to do it myſelf, but that I "thought it might be a pretty amuſement for a child: "ſo I ſent for you." She told him, ſhe was extremely proud to be honoured with his commands; but requeſted to have leave to read the letters as ſhe went on. "Why," ſaid the Dean, "provided you will acknow-"ledge yourſelf amply rewarded for your trouble, I "don't much care if I indulge you ſo far."

In reading the letters, ſhe could not avoid remarking to the Dean, that, notwithſtanding the friendſhip Mr Pope profeſſed for Mr Gay, he could not forbear a great many ſatirical, or, if ſhe might be allowed to ſay ſo, envious remarks on the ſucceſs of the Beggar's opera. The Dean very frankly owned, he did not think Mr Pope was ſo candid to the merit of other writers as he ought to be. She then ventured to aſk the Dean, whether he thought the lines Mr Pope addreſſes him with in the beginning of the Dunciad, were any compliment to him? *viz.*

O thou! whatever title pleaſe thine ear.

"I believe," ſaid he, "they were meant as ſuch, "but they are very ſtiff." "Indeed, Sir," ſaid ſhe, "he is ſo perfectly a maſter of harmonious numbers, "that, had his heart been the leaſt affected with his "ſubject, he muſt have writ better. How cold, how "forced, are his lines to you, compared with yours to "him!

Hail, happy Pope! whoſe gen'rous mind, &c.
vol. 6. p. 337.

" Here we see the masterly poet, and the warm, sin-
" cere, generous friend; while he, according to the
" character he gives of Mr Addison, *damns with faint*
" *praise*."—— " Well," replied the Dean, " I'll shew
" you a late letter of his." He did so; and Mrs Pil-
kington was surprised to find it filled with low and un-
gentleman-like reflections, both on Mr Gay, and the
two noble persons who honoured him with their patron-
age after his disappointment at court. " Well, Ma-
" dam," said the Dean, " What do you think of that
" letter?" (seeing she had gone quite thro' it.) " In-
" deed, Sir," (replied she,) " I am sorry I have read
" it; for it gives me reason to think there is no such
" thing as a sincere friend to be met with in the
" world."— " Why," replied he, " authors are as jea-
" lous of their prerogative as kings; and can no more
" bear a rival in the empire of wit, than a monarch
" could in his dominions." Mrs Pilkington then ob-
serving a Latin sentence writ in Italics, desired the Dean
to explain it. " No," replied he, smiling, " I'll leave
" that for your husband to do. I'll send for him to
" dine with us, and in the mean time we'll go and take
" a walk in Naboth's vineyard."——" Where may that
" be, pray, Sir?" said she. " Why, a garden," said
the Dean, " I cheated one of my neighbours out of."
When they entered the garden, or rather the field, which
was square, and inclosed with a stone wall, the Dean
asked her how she liked it? " Why, pray, Sir," said
she, " where is the garden?" " Look behind you," said
he. She did so; and observed the south wall was lined
with brick, and a great number of fruit-trees planted a-
gainst it, which being then in blossom, looked very
beautiful. " What are you so intent on?" said the Dean.
" The opening bloom," replied she; which brought
Waller's lines to her remembrance.

Hope waits upon the flow'ry prime.

" Oh!" replied he, " you are in a poetical vein; I
" thought you had been taking notice of my wall.
" 'Tis the best in Ireland. When the masons were
" building it, (as most tradesmen are rogues), I watch-
" ed

" ed them very close, and as often as they could, they " put in a rotten stone; of which however I took no " notice, till they had built three or four perches be- " yond it. Now, as I am an absolute monarch in the " liberties, and king of the mob, my way with them " was, to have the wall thrown down to the place " where I observed the rotten stone; and, by doing so " five or six times, the workmen were at last convinced " it was their interest to be honest:"—" Or else, Sir," said Mrs Pilkington, " your wall would have been as " tedious a piece of work as Penelope's web, if all that " was done in the day was to be undone at night." " Well," answered the Dean, " I find you have poe- " try for every occasion; but as you cannot keep pace " with me in walking, I would have you sit down on " that little bank, till you are rested, or I tired, to put " us more upon a par."

She seated herself, and away the Dean walked, or rather trotted as hard as ever he could drive. She could not help smiling at his odd gait; for she thought to her- self, he had written so much in praise of horses, that he was resolved to imitate them as nearly as he could. As she was indulging this fancy, the Dean returned to her, and gave her a strong confirmation of his partiality to those animals. " I have been considering, Madam, as " I walked," said he, " what a fool Mr Pilkington was " to marry you; for he could have afforded to keep a " horse for less money than you cost him; and that, you " must confess, would have given him better exercise " and more pleasure than a wife.—Why, you laugh, " and don't answer me—is not it truth?"—" I must " answer you, Sir," replied she, with another question: " Pray how can a bachelor judge of this matter?" " I " find," said he, " you are vain enough to give your- " self the preference." " I do, Sir," replied she, " to " that species here; to a Houyhnhnm I would as be- " comes me, give preference. But, Sir, 'tis going to " rain."—" I hope not," said he, " for that will cost me " sixpence for a coach for you," (the garden being at some distance from the house.) " Come, haste; O how the " tester trembles in my pocket!" She obeyed; and they got in a doors just time enough to escape a heavy shower.

"Thank God," ſaid the Dean, "I have ſaved my mo-
"ney. Here, you fellow," (to the ſervant), "carry
"this ſixpence to the lame old man that ſells ginger-
"bread at the corner, becauſe he tries to do ſomething,
"and does not beg."

MRS Pilkington was ſhewed into a little ſtreet-parlour, where was Mrs Brent, his houſekeeper. "Here," ſays he, "Mrs Brent, take care of this child, while I "take my walk out within doors." The Dean then ran up the great ſtairs, down one pair of back-ſtairs, up another, in ſo violent a manner, that Mrs Pilkington could not help expreſſing her uneaſineſs to Mrs Brent, leſt he ſhould fall, and be hurted. Mrs Brent ſaid, it was a cuſtomary exerciſe with him, when the weather did not permit him to walk abroad.

MRS Brent then told Mrs Pilkington of the Dean's charity; of his giving above half of his yearly income in private penſions to decayed families; and keeping 500 l. in the conſtant ſervice of induſtrious poor, which he lent out 5 l. at a time, and took the payment back at 1 s. a-week; which, ſhe obſerved, did them more ſervice than if he gave it to them entirely, as it obliged them to work, and at the ſame time kept up this charitable fund for the aſſiſtance of many. "You cannot "imagine," ſaid ſhe, "what numbers of poor tradeſ-
"men, who have even wanted proper tools to carry on
"their work, have, by this ſmall loan, been put into a
"proſperous way, and brought up their families in cre-
"dit. The Dean," added ſhe, "has found out a new
"method of being charitable, in which, however, I be-
"lieve, he will have but few followers; which is, to
"debar himſelf of what he calls the ſuperfluities of life,
"in order to adminiſter to the neceſſities of the diſtreſ-
"ſed. You juſt now ſaw an inſtance of it; the money
"a coach would have coſt him, he gave to a poor man
"unable to walk. When he dines alone, he drinks a
"pint of beer, and gives away the price of a pint of
"wine. And thus he acts in numberleſs inſtances."

THE Dean came to dine with Mr and Mrs Pilkington at their Lilliputian palace, as he called it; and, who could have thought it? he juſt looked into the parlour, and ran up into the garret, then into Mrs Pilkington's bedchamber

bedchamber and library, and from thence down to the kitchen; and the house being very clean, he complimented her upon it, and told her, that was his custom; and that it was from the cleanliness of the garret and kitchen, he judged of the good housewifery of the mistress of the house; for no doubt but a slut would have the room clean where the guests were to be entertained.

He was sometimes very rude, even to his superiors; of which the following story, related to Mrs Pilkington by himself, may serve as one instance amongst a thousand others.

The last time he was in London, he went to dine with the Earl of Burlington, who was then but newly married. The Earl being willing, 'tis supposed, to have some diversion, did not introduce him to his lady, nor mention his name. It is to be observed, that his gown was generally very rusty, and his person no way extraordinary. After dinner, said the Dean, "Lady "Burlington, I hear you can sing; sing me a song." The lady looked on this unceremonious manner of asking a favour with distaste, and positively refused him. He said, she should sing, or he would make her. "Why, "Madam, I suppose you take me for one of your poor "English hedge parsons; sing when I bid you." As the Earl did nothing but laugh at this freedom, the lady was so vexed, that she burst into tears, and retired.

His first compliment to her when he saw her again, was, "Pray, Madam, are you as proud and as ill-natu-"red now, as when I saw you last?" To which she answered, with great good humour, "No, Mr Dean; I'll "sing for you, if you please." From which time he conceived great esteem for her. But who that knew him would take offence at his bluntness?

Mrs Pilkington could not recollect that ever she saw the Dean laugh; perhaps he thought it beneath him; for when any pleasantry passed which might have excited it, he used to suck his cheeks to avoid risibility. He used frequently to put her in mind of Shakespear's description of Cassius.

He is a great diſcerner, and he looks
Quite thro' the deeds of men— ——
Seldom he ſmiles, and ſmiles in ſuch a ſort
As if he mock'd himſelf, and ſcorn'd his ſpirit,
That could be mov'd to ſmile at any thing. *Jul. Cæſar.*

MRS Pilkington believed the Dean's early youth did not promiſe that bright day of wit which has ſince enlightened the learned world. Whilſt he was at the univerſity of Dublin, he was ſo far from being diſtinguiſhed for any ſuperiority of parts or learning, that he was ſtopped of his degree as a dunce. When ſhe heard the Dean relate this circumſtance, ſhe told him, ſhe ſuppoſed he had been idle: but he affirmed to the contrary, aſſuring her he was really dull. Which, if true, is very ſurpriſing.

" I have," ſays ſhe, " often been led to look on the " world as a garden, and the human minds as ſo ma- " ny plants, ſet by the hand of the great Creator for " utility and ornament. Thus ſome, we ſee, early pro- " duce beautiful bloſſoms, and as ſoon fade away; o- " thers, whoſe gems are more ſlow in unfolding, but " more permanent when blown; and others again, " who, tho' longer in arriving at perfection, not on- " ly bleſs us then with ſhade and odour, but alſo with " delicious wholeſome fruit."

HE was a perpetual friend to merit and learning; and utterly incapable of envy; for, in true genuine wit, he could fear no rival.

IT has been often obſerved, that where great talents are beſtowed, there the ſtrongeſt paſſions are likewiſe given. This great man did but too often let them have dominion over him, and that on the moſt trifling occaſions. During meal-times he was evermore in a ſtorm; the meat was always too much or too little done, or the ſervants had offended in ſome point, imperceptible to the reſt of the company: however, when the cloth was taken away, he made his gueſts rich amends for the pain he had given them. For then

Was truly mingled in the friendly bowl
The feaſt of reaſon, and the flow of ſoul. *Pope.*

Yet

Yet he preſerved ſtrict temperance: for he never drank above half a pint of wine, in every glaſs of which he mixed water and ſugar: yet, if he liked his company, would ſit many hours over it, unlocking all the ſprings of policy, learning, true humour, and inimitable wit.

The following ſtory the Dean told to Mrs Pilkington.

A clergyman, who was a moſt learned fine gentleman, but under the ſofteſt and politeſt appearance, concealed the moſt turbulent ambition, having made his merit as a preacher too eminent to be overlooked, had it early rewarded with a mitre. Dr Swift went to congratulate him on it; but told him, he hoped, as his Lordſhip was a native of Ireland, and had now a ſeat in the houſe of Peers, he would employ his powerful elocution in the ſervice of his diſtreſſed country. The prelate told him, the biſhoprick was but a very ſmall one, and he could not hope for a better, if he did not oblige the court. "Very well," ſays Swift, "then it is to be hoped, "when you have a better, you will become an honeſt "man." "Ay, that I will, Mr Dean," ſays he. "Till then, my Lord, farewel," anſwered Swift. This prelate was twice tranſlated to richer ſees; and, on every tranſlation, Dr Swift waited on him to remind him of his promiſe; but to no purpoſe; there was now an archbiſhoprick in view, and till that was obtained, nothing could be done. Having in a ſhort time likewiſe got this, he then ſent for the Dean, and told him, "I am now at the top of my preferment; for I well "know no Iriſhman will ever be made primate; there- "fore, as I can riſe no higher in fortune or ſtation, I "will zealouſly promote the good of my country." And from that time he commenced a moſt outrageous patriot.

The

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A Criticism on Swift's Prose Writings.

By the Earl of Orrery.

If we conſider Swift's proſe works, we ſhall find a certain maſterly conciſeneſs in their ſtyle that hath never been equalled by any other writer. The truth of this aſſertion will more evidently appear, by comparing him with ſome of the authors of his own time. Of theſe Dr Tillotſon and Mr Addiſon are to be numbered among the moſt eminent. Addiſon hath all the powers that can captivate and improve: his diction is eaſy, his periods are well turned, his expreſſions are flowing, and his humour is delicate. Tillotſon is nervous, grave, majeſtic, and perſpicuous. We muſt join both theſe characters together to form a true idea of Dr Swift: yet as he outdoes Addiſon in humour, he excels Tillotſon in perſpicuity. The Archbiſhop indeed confined himſelf to ſubjects relative to his profeſſion: but Addiſon and Swift are more diffuſive writers. They continually vary in their manner, and treat different topics in a different ſtyle. When the writings of Addiſon terminate in party, he loſes himſelf extremely, and from a delicate and juſt comedian, deviates into one of the loweſt kind*. Not ſo Dr Swift. He appears like a maſterly gladiator. He wields the ſword of party with eaſe, juſtneſs, and dexterity: and while he entertains the ignorant and the vulgar, he draws an equal attention from the learned and the great. When he is ſerious, his gravity becomes him; when he laughs, his readers muſt laugh with him. But what ſhall be ſaid for his love of trifles, and his want of delicacy and decorum? errors that if he did not contract, at leaſt he increaſed in Ireland. They are without a parallel, I hope they will ever remain ſo. The firſt of them aroſe merely from his love of flattery, with which he was

* *See the papers called the* Freeholder.

was daily fed in that kingdom: the ſecond proceeded from the miſanthropy of his diſpoſition, which induced him peeviſhly to debaſe mankind, and even to ridicule human nature itſelf. Politics were his favourite topic, as they gave him an opportunity of gratifying his ambition, and thirſt of power: yet in this road he has ſeldom continued long in one path. He has written miſcellaneouſly, and has choſen rather to appear a wandering comet, than a fixed ſtar. Had he applied the faculties of his mind to one great and uſeful work, he muſt have ſhined more glorioufly, and might have enlightened a whole planetary ſyſtem in the political world.

THERE are ſome pieces in his works that I deſpiſe, others that I loath, but many more that delight and improve me. The former are not worthy of notice. They are of no further uſe than to ſhew us, in general, the errors of human nature; and to convince us, that neither the height of wit nor genius can bring a man to ſuch a degree of perfection, as vanity would often prompt him to believe.

IN a diſquiſition of this ſort, I ſhall avoid as much as poſſible any annotations upon that kind of ſatire in which the Dean indulged himſelf againſt particular perſons: moſt of whom it is probable provoked his rage by their own miſconduct, and conſequently owed to their own raſhneſs the wounds which they received from his pen. But I have no delight in thoſe kind of writings, except for the ſake of the wit, which, either in general or in particular ſatire, is equally to be admired. The edge of wit will always remain keen, and its blade will be bright and ſhining, when the ſtone upon which it has been whetted, is worn out, or thrown aſide and forgotten. Perſonal ſatire againſt evil magiſtrates, corrupt miniſters, and thoſe giants of power, who gorge themſelves with the intrails of their country, is different from that perſonal ſatire, which too often proceeds merely from ſelf-love, or ill-nature. The one is written in defence of the public, the other in defence of ourſelves. The one is armed by the ſword of juſtice, and encouraged not only by the voice of the people, but by the principles of morality;

morality; the other is dictated by paſſion, ſupported by pride, and applauded by flattery. At the ſame time that I ſay this, I think every man of wit has a right to laugh at fools, who give offence, or at coxcombs, who are public nuſances. Swift indeed has left no weapon of ſarcaſm untried, no branch of ſatire uncultivated: but while he has maintained a perpetual war againſt the mighty men in power, he has remained invulnerable, if not victorious.

See the criticiſms prefixed to vols 6. & 4.

An account of a MONUMENT erected to the memory of Dr SWIFT in Ireland.

Taken from the DUBLIN JOURNAL.

SIR,

I Have at laſt finiſhed what you have often heard me wiſh I might be able to do, a monument for the greateſt genius of our age, the late Dean of St Patrick's. The thing in itſelf is but a trifle; but it is more than I ſhould ever have attempted, had I not with indignation ſeen a country (ſo honoured by the birth of ſo great a man, and ſo faithfully ſerved by him all his life) ſo long and ſo ſhamefully negligent in erecting ſome monument of gratitude to his memory. Countries are not wiſe in ſuch a neglect; for they hurt themſelves. Men of genius are encouraged to apply their talents to the ſervice of their country, when they ſee in it gratitude to the memory of thoſe that have deſerved well of them. The ingenious Pere Caſſell told me at Paris, that he reckoned it the greateſt misfortune to him that he was not born an Engliſhman; and when he explained himſelf, it was only for this, that after two hundred years they had erected a monument to Shakeſpear; and another to a modern, but to the greateſt of them, Sir Iſaac Newton. Great ſouls are very diſintereſted in the affairs of life; they look for fame and immortality, ſcorning the mean paths of intereſt and lucre: and, ſurely, in an age ſo mercenary as ours, men ſhould not be ſo ſparing to give public marks of their gratitude to men of ſuch virtue, dead, however they may treat them living; ſince, in ſo doing, they beſpeak, and almoſt inſure to themſelves a ſucceſſion of ſuch uſeful perſons in ſociety. It was with this view that I determined to throw in my mite.

In a fine lawn below my houſe, I have planted an hippodrome. It is a circular plantation, conſiſting of five walks, the central of which is a horſe-courſe, and three rounds make exactly a mile. All the lines are ſo laid out, that, from the centre, the ſix rows of trees appear but one, and form 100 arches round the field; in the centre of which I have erected a mount, and

placed

placed a marble column on its proper pedeſtal, with all the decorations of the order; on the ſummit of which I placed a Pegaſus, juſt ſeeming to take flight to heaven; and on the dye of the pedeſtal I have ingraved the following inſcription, wrote by an ingenious friend.

In memoriam JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P. *viri ſine pari.*
Aonidum fontes aperis, divine poeta,
Arte nova; æthereas propriis ut Pegaſus alis
Scande domos: æternum addet tua fama columnæ
Huic memori decus; hic, tanti qua poſſumus umbram
Nominis in mentem, ſacro revocare quotannis
Ludorum ritu juvat; hic, tibi parvus honorum
Offertur cumulus: laudum quo fine tuarum
Copia claudatur qui quærit, gentis Iernæ
Pectora ſcrutetur, latumque interroget orbem.
1750.

I have alſo appointed a ſmall fund for annual premiums to be diſtributed in the celebration of games at the monument yearly. The ceremony is to laſt three days, beginning the 1ſt of May yearly. On this day, young maids and men in the neighbourhood are to aſſemble in the hippodrome, with their garlands and chaplets of flowers, and to dance round the monument, ſinging the praiſes of this ingenious patriot, and ſtrowing with flowers all the place: after which they are to dance for a prize; the beſt dancer among the maids is to be preſented with a cap and ribbands; and after the dance, the young men are to run for a hat and gloves.

THE ſecond day, there is to be a large market upon the ground; and the girl who produces the fineſt hank of yarn, and the moſt regular reel and count, is to have a guinea premium; and the perſon who buys the greateſt quantity of yarn, is to have a premium of two guineas.

THE third day, the farmer who produces the beſt yearling calf of his own breed, is to have two guineas premium; and he that produces the faireſt colt or filly, of his own breed likewiſe, not over two years old, ſhall receive a premium of two guineas alſo.—Thus the whole will not exceed ten pounds; and all theſe uſeful branches of our growth and manufacture will be encouraged, in remembring the patron who with ſo much care and tenderneſs recommended them to others, and cheriſhed them himſelf.

I am &c.

THE

[redacted]

A

TALE OF A TUB.

Written for the

UNIVERSAL IMPROVEMENT

OF

MANKIND.

Diu multumque desideratum.

With the AUTHOR's APOLOGY;

AND

EXPLANATORY NOTES,

By *W. Wotton*, B. D. and others.

THE AUTHOR'S

APOLOGY.

IF good and ill nature equally operated upon mankind, I might have ſaved myſelf the trouble of this Apology; for it is manifeſt, by the reception the following diſcourſe hath met with, that thoſe who approve it, are a great majority among the men of taſte: yet there have been two or three treatiſes written expreſsly againſt it, beſides many others that have ſlirted at it occaſionally, without one ſyllable having been ever publiſhed in its defence, or even quotation to its advantage that I can remember, except by the polite author of a late diſcourſe between a *Deiſt* and a *Socinian*.

THEREFORE, ſince the book ſeems calculated to live at leaſt as long as our language and our taſte admit no great alterations, I am content to convey ſome apology along with it.

THE greateſt part of that book was finiſhed about thirteen years ſince, 1696; which is eight years before it was publiſhed. The author was then young, his invention at the height, and his reading freſh in his head. By the aſſiſtance of ſome thinking, and much converſation, he had endeavoured to ſtrip himſelf of as many real prejudices as he could: I ſay, real ones; becauſe, under the notion of prejudices, he knew to what dangerous heights ſome men have proceeded. Thus prepared, he thought the numerous and groſs corruptions in religion and learning might furniſh matter for a ſatire, that would be uſeful and diverting. He reſolved to proceed in a manner, that ſhould be altogether new; the world having been already too long nauſeated with endleſs repetitions upon every ſubject. The abuſes in religion he propoſed to ſet forth in the allegory of the coats, and

the three brothers; which was to make up the body of the diſcourſe. Thoſe in learning he choſe to introduce by way of digreſſions. He was then a young gentleman much in the world, and wrote to the taſte of thoſe who were like himſelf: therefore, in order to allure them, he gave a liberty to his pen, which might not ſuit with maturer years, or graver characters; and which he could have eaſily corrected with a very few blots, had he been maſter of his papers for a year or two before their publication.

NOT that he would have governed his judgment by the ill-placed cavils of the four, the envious, the ſtupid, and the taſteleſs; which he mentions with diſdain. He acknowledges there are ſeveral youthful ſallies, which, from the grave and the wiſe, may deſerve a rebuke. But he deſires to be anſwerable no farther than he is guilty; and that his faults may not be multiplied by the ignorant, the unnatural, and unchari'able applications of thoſe, who have neither candour to ſuppoſe good meanings, nor palate to diſtinguiſh true ones. After which he will forfeit his life, if any one opinion can be fairly deduced from that book, which is contrary to religion or morality.

WHY ſhould any clergyman of our church be angry to ſee the follies of fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition expoſed, tho' in the moſt ridiculous manner? ſince that is perhaps the moſt probable way to cure them, or at leaſt to hinder them from farther ſpreading. Beſides, tho' it was not intended for their peruſal, it rallies nothing but what they preach againſt. It contains nothing to provoke them, by the leaſt ſcurrility upon their perſons or their functions. It celebrates the church of England, as the moſt perfect of all others in diſcipline and doctrine; it advances no opinion they reject, nor condemns any they receive. If the clergy's reſentments lay upon their hands, in my humble opinion, they might have found more proper objects to employ them on. *Nondum tibi deſuit hoſtis*; I mean thoſe heavy, illiterate ſcriblers, proſtitute in their reputations, vicious in their lives, and ruined in their fortunes; who, to the ſhame of good ſenſe as well as piety, are greedily read, merely upon the ſtrength of bold, falſe, impious aſſertions, mixed with unmannerly

unmannerly reflections upon the prieſthood, and openly intended againſt all religion; in ſhort, full of ſuch principles as are kindly received, becauſe they are levelled to remove thoſe terrors that religion tells men will be the conſequence of immoral lives. Nothing like which is to be met with in this diſcourſe, tho' ſome of them are pleaſed ſo freely to cenſure it. And I wiſh there were no other inſtance of what I have too frequently obſerved, that many of that Reverend body are not always very nice in diſtinguiſhing between their enemies and their friends.

HAD the author's intentions met with a more candid interpretation from ſome, whom, out of reſpect, he forbears to name, he might have been encouraged to an examination of books written by ſome of thoſe authors above deſcribed, whoſe errors, ignorance, dulneſs, and villany he thinks he could have detected and expoſed in ſuch a manner, that the perſons who are moſt conceived to be infected by them, would ſoon lay them aſide, and be aſhamed: but he has now given over thoſe thoughts; ſince the *weightieſt* men * in the *weightieſt* ſtations are pleaſed to think it a more dangerous point, to laugh at thoſe corruptions in religion, which they themſelves muſt diſapprove, than to endeavour pulling up thoſe very foundations, wherein all Chriſtians have agreed.

HE thinks it no fair proceeding, that any perſon ſhould offer determinately to fix a name upon the author of this diſcourſe, who hath all along concealed himſelf from moſt of his neareſt friends: yet ſeveral have gone a farther ſtep, and pronounced another book † to have been the work of the ſame hand with this; which the author directly affirms to be a thorough miſtake, he having yet never ſo much as read that diſcourſe: a plain inſtance how little truth there often is in general ſurmiſes, or in conjectures drawn from a ſimilitude of ſtyle, or way of thinking.

* Alluding to Dr. Sharp the Archbiſhop of York's repreſentation of the Author.

† Letter of enthuſiaſm, ſuppoſed to have been written by Col. Hunter: ſee Swift's letter to him, in the laſt of theſe volumes.

HAD the author written a book to expoſe the abuſes in law, or in phyſic, he believes the learned profeſſors in either faculty would have been ſo far from reſenting it, as to have given him thanks for his pains; eſpecially if he had made an honourable reſervation for the true practice of either ſcience. But religion, they tell us, ought not to be ridiculed; and they tell us truth: yet ſurely the corruptions in it may; for we are taught by the triteſt maxim in the world, that religion being the beſt of things, its corruptions are likely to be the worſt.

THERE is one thing which the judicious reader cannot but have obſerved, that ſome of thoſe paſſages in this diſcourſe, which appear moſt liable to objection, are what they call parodies, where the author perſonates the ſtyle and manner of other writers whom he has a mind to expoſe. I ſhall produce one inſtance; it is in the 29th *page*. Dryden, L'Eſtrange, and ſome others I ſhall not name, are here levelled at; who, having ſpent their lives in faction and apoſtaſies, and all manner of vice, pretended to be ſufferers for loyalty and religion. So Dryden tells us in one of his prefaces of his merits and ſufferings; thanks God that he *poſſeſſes his ſoul in patience*. In other places he talks at the ſame rate; and L'Eſtrange often uſes the like ſtyle: and, I believe the reader may find more perſons to give that paſſage an application. But this is enough to direct thoſe who may have overlooked the author's intention.

THERE are three or four other paſſages, which prejudiced or ignorant readers have drawn by great force to hint at ill meanings; as if they glanced at ſome tenets in religion In anſwer to all which, the author ſolemnly proteſts he is entirely innocent, and never had it once in his thoughts, that any thing he ſaid would in the leaſt be capable of ſuch interpretations; which he will engage to deduce full as fairly from the moſt innocent book in the world. And it will be obvious to every reader, that this was not any part of his ſcheme or deſign; the abuſes he notes, being ſuch as all Church-of-England men agree in: nor was it proper for his ſubject to meddle with other points, than ſuch as have been perpetually controverted ſince the Reformation.

To

To instance only in that passage about the three wooden machines mentioned in the introduction. In the original manuscript, there was a description of a fourth, which those who had the papers in their power, blotted out, as having something in it of satire; that, I suppose, they thought was too particular; and therefore they were forced to change it to the number *three*; from whence, some have endeavoured to squeeze out a dangerous meaning, that was never thought on. And indeed the conceit was half spoiled by changing the numbers; that of *four* being much more cabalistic, and therefore better exposing the pretended virtue of numbers; a superstition there intended to be ridiculed.

Another thing to be observed, is, that there generally runs an irony through the thread of the whole book; which the men of taste will observe and distinguish, and which will render some objections that have been made, very weak and insignificant.

This Apology being chiefly intended for the satisfaction of future readers, it may be thought unnecessary to take any notice of such treatises as have been written against the ensuing discourse; which are already sunk into waste paper and oblivion, after the usual fate of common answerers to books which are allowed to have any merit. They are indeed like annuals that grow about a young tree, and seem to vie with it for a summer, but fall and die with the leaves in autumn, and are never heard of any more. When Dr. Eachard writ his book about the contempt of the clergy, numbers of those answerers immediately started up, whose memory if he had not kept alive by his replies, it would now be utterly unknown that he were ever answered at all. There is indeed an exception, when any great genius thinks it worth his while to expose a foolish piece. So we still read Marvel's answer to Parker * with pleasure, tho' the book it answers be sunk long

* Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, wrote many treatises against the Dissenters, with insolence and contempt, says Burnet, that enraged them beyond measure; for which he was chastised by Andrew Marvel, Under Secretary to Milton, in a little book called the *Rehearsal transposed*.

long ago; ſo the Earl of Orrery's remarks will be read with delight, when the diſſertation he expoſes will neither be ſought nor found *. But theſe are no enterprizes for common hands, nor to be hoped for above once or twice in an age. Men would be more cautious of loſing their time in ſuch an undertaking, if they did but conſider, that to anſwer a book effectually, requires more pains and ſkill, more wit, learning and judgment, than were employed in the writing it. And the author aſſures thoſe gentlemen who have given themſelves that trouble with him, that his diſcourſe is the product of the ſtudy, the obſervation, and the invention of ſeveral years; that he often blotted out much more than he left; and, if his papers had not been a long time out of his poſſeſſion, they muſt have ſtill undergone more ſevere corrections. And do they think ſuch a building is to be battered with dirt-pellets, however envenomed the mouths may be that diſcharge them? He hath ſeen the productions but of two anſwerers, one of which at firſt appeared as from an unknown hand, but ſince avowed by a perſon †, who upon ſome occaſions hath diſcovered no ill vein of humour. 'Tis a pity any occaſion ſhould put him under a neceſſity of being ſo haſty in his productions, which otherwiſe might often be entertaining. But there were other reaſons obvious enough for his miſcarriage in this; he writ againſt the conviction of his talent, and entered upon one of the wrongeſt attempts in nature, to turn into ridicule, by a week's labour, a work which had coſt ſo much time, and met with ſo much ſucceſs in ridiculing others. The manner how he handled his *ſubject*, I have now forgot; having juſt looked it over when it firſt came out, as others did, merely for the ſake of the ‡ title.

THE

* Boyle's remarks upon Bentley's diſſertation on the epiſtles of Phalaris.

† Suppoſed to be Doctor William King, the civilian, author of an Account of Denmark, a Diſſertation on ſamplars and other pieces of burleſque on the Royal Society, and the Art of cookery in imitation of Horace's Art of poetry, *&c.*

‡ This we cannot recover at preſent, it being ſo abſolutely forgotten, the oldeſt bookſellers in trade remember nothing of it.

THE other anſwer is from a perſon of a graver character, and is made up of half invective, and half annotation *; in the latter of which he hath generally ſucceeded well enough. And the project at that time was not amiſs to draw in readers to his pamphlet; ſeveral having appeared deſirous that there might be ſome explication of the more difficult paſſages. Neither can he be altogether blamed for offering at the invective part; becauſe it is agreed on all hands, that the author had given him ſufficient provocation. The great objection is againſt his manner of treating it, very unſuitable to one of his function. It was determined by a fair majority, that this anſwerer had, in a way not to be pardoned, drawn his pen againſt a certain great man then alive, and univerſally reverenced for every good quality that could poſſibly enter into the compoſition of the moſt accompliſhed perſon. It was obſerved, how he was pleaſed and affected to have that noble writer called his adverſary; and it was a point of ſatire well directed; for I have been told Sir William Temple was ſufficiently mortified at the term. All the men of wit and politeneſs were immediately up in arms, through indignation which prevailed over their contempt, by the conſequences they apprehended from ſuch an example; and it grew Porſenna's caſe; *Iam trementi juravimus*. In ſhort, things were ripe for a general inſurrection, till my Lord Orrery had a little laid the ſtorm, and ſettled the ferment. But his Lordſhip being [illegible] pally engaged with another antagoniſt †, it was [illegible] neceſſary, in order to quiet the minds of men, that the oppoſer ſhould receive a reprimand, which [illegible] caſioned that diſcourſe of the battle of the [illegible] the author was farther at the pains to inſert [illegible] remarks on him in the body of the book.

* Wotton's defence of [illegible] modern learning: from the [illegible] ſigned *W. Wotton*; thus Wotton [illegible] work, which he laboured [illegible] pointed againſt himſelf [illegible] wheel of the victor, and [illegible] triumph, whom they [illegible]

† *Bentley*, concerning [illegible]

THIS anſwerer has been pleaſed to find fault with about a dozen paſſages, which the author will not be at the trouble of defending, farther than by aſſuring the reader, that for the greater part the reflecter is entirely miſtaken, and forces interpretations which never once entered into the writer's head, nor will (he is ſure) into that of any reader of taſte and candour. He allows two, or three at moſt, there produced, to have been delivered unwarily; for which he deſires to plead the excuſe offered already, of his youth, and frankneſs of ſpeech, and his papers being out of his power at the time they were publiſhed.

BUT this anſwerer inſiſts; and ſays, what he chiefly diſlikes, is the *deſign*. What that was, I have already told; and I believe there is not a perſon in England who can underſtand that book, that ever imagined it to have been any thing elſe, but to expoſe the abuſes and corruptions in learning and religion.

BUT it would be good to know what *deſign* this reflecter was ſerving, when he concludes his pamphlet with a caution to the reader, to beware of thinking the author's wit was entirely his own. Surely this muſt have had ſome ally of perſonal animoſity, at leaſt mixed with the *deſign* of ſerving the public by ſo uſeful a diſcovery; and it indeed touches the author in a tender point, who inſiſts upon it, that through the whole book he has not borrowed one ſingle hint from any writer in the world; and he thought, of all criticiſms, that would never have been one. He conceived it was never diſputed to be an original, whatever faults it might have. However, this anſwerer produces three inſtances to prove *this author's wit is not his own in many places*. The firſt is, that the names of *Peter*, *Martin*, and *Jack*, are borrowed from a letter of the late * Duke of Buckingham. Whatever wit is contained in thoſe three names, the author is content to give it up, and deſires his readers will ſubtract as much as they placed upon that account; at the ſame time proteſting ſolemnly, that he never once heard of that letter, except in this paſſage of the anſwerer: ſo that the names were not borrowed, as he affirms, tho' they ſhould happen to be the ſame; which however is odd

* Villers.

odd enough, and what he hardly believes; that of *Jack* being not quite so obvious as the other two. The second instance to shew *the author's wit is not his own*, is *Peter's banter* (as he calls it in his Alsatia phrase) upon transubstantiation, which is taken from the same Duke's conference with an Irish priest, where a cork is turned into a horse. This the author confesses to have seen, about ten years after his book was written, and a year or two after it was published. Nay, the answerer overthrows this himself: for he allows the *Tale* was written in 1697; and I think that pamphlet was not printed in many years after. It was necessary, that corruption should have some allegory as well as the rest; and the author invented the properest he could, without inquiring what other people had written; and the commonest reader will find, there is not the least resemblance between the two stories. The third instance is in these words: "I have been assured, "that the battle in St. James's library is *mutatis mutandis* "taken out of a French book, intitled, *Combat des livres*, "if I misremember not." In which passage there are two clauses observable: *I have been assured*; and, *if I misremember not*. I desire first to know, whether, if that conjecture proves an utter falshood, those two clauses will be a sufficient excuse for this worthy critic. The matter is a trifle: but would he venture to pronounce at this rate upon one of greater moment? I know nothing more contemptible in a writer than the character of a plagiary; which he here fixes at a venture, and this not for a passage, but a whole discourse, taken out from another book, only *mutatis mutandis*. The author is as much in the dark about this as the answerer; and will imitate him by an affirmation at random, that if there be a word of truth in this reflexion, he is a paultry imitating pedant, and the answerer is a person of wit, manners, and truth. He takes his boldness, from never having seen any such treatise in his life, nor heard of it before; and he is sure it is impossible for two writers of different times and countries, to agree in their thoughts after such a manner, that two continued discourses shall be the same, only *mutatis mutandis*. Neither will he insist upon the mistake in the title. But *let the answerer* and his friend produce any

book

book they pleaſe, he defies them to ſhew one ſingle particular, where the judicious reader will affirm he has been obliged for the ſmalleſt hint; giving only allowance for the accidental encountering of a ſingle thought, which he knows may ſometimes happen; though he has never yet found it in that diſcourſe, nor has heard it objected by any body elſe.

So that if ever any *deſign* was unfortunately executed, it muſt be that of this anſwerer; who when he would have it obſerved, that the author's wit is none of his own, is able to produce but three inſtances, two of them mere trifles, and all three manifeſtly falſe. If this be the way theſe gentlemen deal with the world in thoſe criticiſms, where we have not leiſure to defeat them, their readers had need be cautious how they rely upon their credit; and whether this proceeding can be reconciled to humanity or truth, let thoſe who think it worth their while, determine.

IT is agreed, this anſwerer would have ſucceeded much better, if he had ſtuck wholly to his buſineſs as a commentator upon the *Tale of a Tub*, wherein it cannot be denied, that he hath been of ſome ſervice to the public, and hath given very fair conjectures towards clearing up ſome difficult paſſages; but, it is the frequent error of thoſe men, (otherwiſe very commendable for their labours) to make excurſions beyond their talent and their office, by pretending to point out the beauties and the faults; which is no part of their trade, which they always fail in, which the world never expected from them, nor gave them any thanks for endeavouring at. The part of Minellius, or Farnaby *, would have fallen in with his genius, and might have been ſerviceable to many readers, who cannot enter into the abſtruſer parts of that diſcourſe. But *optat ephippia bos piger:* the dull, unweildy, ill-ſhaped ox would needs put on the furniture of a horſe, not conſidering he was born to labour, to plow the ground for the ſake of ſuperior beings, and that he has neither the ſhape, mettle, nor ſpeed of that noble animal he would affect to perſonate.

IT

* Low commentators, who wrote notes upon claſſic authors *for the uſe of* ſchoolboys.

IT is another pattern of this anſwerer's fair dealing, to give us hints that the author is dead, and yet to lay the ſuſpicion upon ſome body, I know not who, in the country. To which can only be returned, that he is abſolutely miſtaken in all his conjectures; and ſurely conjectures are at beſt too light a pretence to allow a man to aſſign a name in public. He condemns a book, and conſequently the author, of whom he is utterly ignorant; yet at the ſame time fixes in print, what he thinks a diſadvantageous character, upon thoſe who never deſerved it. A man who receives a buffet in the dark, may be allowed to be vexed; but it is an odd kind of revenge to go to cuffs in broad day with the firſt he meets with, and lay the laſt night's injury at his door. And thus much for this *diſcreet*, *candid*, *pious*, and *ingenious* anſwerer.

How the author came to be without his papers, is a ſtory not proper to be told, and of very little uſe, being a private fact, of which the reader would believe as little, or as much as he thought good. He had however a blotted copy by him, which he intended to have written over, with many alterations; and this the publiſhers were well aware of, having put it into the bookſeller's preface, that they *apprehended a ſurreptitious copy, which was to be altered*, &c. This, though not regarded by readers, was a real truth, only the ſurreptitious copy was rather that which was printed; and they made all the haſte they could, which indeed was needleſs; the author not being at all prepared. But he has been told, the bookſeller was in much pain, having given a good ſum of money for the copy.

IN the author's original copy there were not ſo many chaſms as appear in the book, and why ſome of them were left, he knows not. Had the publication been truſted to him, he would have made ſeveral corrections of paſſages, againſt which nothing hath been ever objected. He would likewiſe have altered a few of thoſe that ſeem with any reaſon to be excepted againſt; but, to deal freely, the greateſt number he ſhould have left untouched, as never ſuſpecting it poſſible any wrong interpretations could be made of them.

THE author obſerves, at the end of the book there is a diſcourſe called *a fragment*, which he more wondered to ſee in print than all the reſt; having been a moſt imperfect ſketch, with the addition of a few looſe hints, which he once lent a gentleman who had deſigned a diſcourſe on ſomewhat the ſame ſubject; he never thought of it afterwards; and it was a ſufficient ſurprize to ſee it pieced up together, wholly out of the method and ſcheme he had intended; for it was the ground-work of a much larger diſcourſe, and he was ſorry to obſerve the materials ſo fooliſhly employed.

THERE is one farther objection made by thoſe who have anſwered this book, as well as by ſome others, that *Peter* is frequently made to repeat oaths and curſes. Every reader obſerves it was neceſſary to know that Peter did ſwear and curſe. The oaths are not printed out, but only ſuppoſed; and the idea of an oath is not immoral, like the idea of a profane or immodeſt ſpeech. A man may laugh at the popiſh folly of curſing people to hell, and imagine them ſwearing, without any crime; but lewd words, or dangerous opinions, though printed by halves, fill the reader's mind with ill ideas; and of theſe the author cannot be accuſed. For the judicious reader will find, that the ſevereſt ſtrokes of ſatire in his book are levelled againſt the modern cuſtom of employing wit upon thoſe topics; of which there is a remarkable inſtance in the 88th *page*, as well as in ſeveral others, though perhaps once or twice expreſſed in too free a manner, excuſable only for the reaſons already alledged. Some overtures have been made, by a third hand, to the bookſeller, for the author's altering thoſe paſſages which he thought might require it. But it ſeems the bookſeller will not hear of any ſuch thing, being apprehenſive it might ſpoil the ſale of the book.

THE author cannot conclude this apology, without making this one reflexion, that, as wit is the nobleſt and moſt uſeful gift of human nature, ſo humour is the moſt agreeable: and where theſe two enter far into the compoſition of any work, they will render it always acceptable to the world. Now, the great part of thoſe who have no ſhare or taſte of either, but by their pride, pedantry,

dantry, and ill manners, lay themſelves bare to the laſhes of both, think the blow is weak, becauſe they are inſenſible; and where wit hath any mixture of raillery, it is but calling it *banter*, and the work is done. This polite word of theirs was firſt borrowed from the bullies in White-Friers, then fell among the footmen, and at laſt retired to the pedants; by whom it is applied as properly to the productions of wit, as if I ſhould apply it to Sir Iſaac Newton's mathematics. But if this *bantering*, as they call it, be ſo deſpiſeable a thing, whence comes it to paſs they have ſuch a perpetual itch towards it themſelves? To inſtance only in the anſwerer already mentioned; it is grievous to ſee him, in ſome of his writings, at every turn going out of his way to be waggiſh, to tell us of *a cow that pricked up her tail*; and in his anſwer to this diſcourſe, he ſays, *it is all a farce and a ladle*; with other paſſages equally ſhining. One may ſay of theſe *impedimenta literarum*, that wit owes them a ſhame; and they cannot take wiſer counſel, than to keep out of harm's way, or at leaſt not to come till they are ſure they are called.

To conclude; with thoſe allowances above required, this book ſhould be read; after which the author conceives, few things will remain which may not be excuſed in a young writer. He wrote only to the men of wit and taſte; and he thinks he is not miſtaken in his accounts, when he ſays they have been all of his ſide, enough to give him the vanity of telling his name, wherein the world, with all its wiſe conjectures, is yet very much in the dark: which circumſtance is no diſagreeable amuſement, either to the public or himſelf.

THE author is informed, that the bookſeller has prevailed on ſeveral gentlemen, to write ſome explanatory notes; for the goodneſs of which he is not to anſwer, having never ſeen any of them, nor intending it, till they appear in print; when it is not unlikely he may have the pleaſure to find twenty meanings, which never entered into his imagination.

June 3. 1709.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the writing of this, which was about a year ago, a proſtitute bookſeller hath publiſhed a fooliſh paper, under the name of *Notes on the Tale of a Tub, with ſome account of the author*; and with an inſolence, which I ſuppoſe is puniſhable by law, hath preſumed to aſſign certain names It will be enough for the author to aſſure the world, that the writer of that paper is utterly wrong in all his conjectures upon that affair. The author farther aſſerts, that the whole work is entirely of one hand; which every reader of judgment will eaſily diſcover: the gentleman who gave the copy to the bookſeller, being a friend of the author, and uſing no other liberties beſides that of expunging certain paſſages, where now the chaſms appear under the name of *deficerata*. But if any perſon will prove his claim to three lines in the whole book, let him ſtep forth, and tell his name and titles; upon which the bookſeller ſhall have orders to prefix them to the next edition, and the claimant ſhall from henceforward be acknowledged the undiſputed author.

Treatiſes

Treatiſes written by the ſame author, moſt of them mentioned in the following diſcourſes; which will be ſpeedily publiſhed.

A Character of the preſent ſet of *wits* in this iſland.

A panegyrical eſſay upon the number *three*.

A diſſertation upon the principal productions of Grub-ſtreet.

Lectures upon a diſſection of human nature.

A panegyric upon the world.

An analytical diſcourſe upon zeal, *hiſtori-theo-phyſi-logically* conſidered.

A general hiſtory of *ears*.

A modeſt defence of the proceedings of the rabble in all ages.

A deſcription of the kingdom of *abſurdities*.

A voyage into England, by a perſon of quality in *terra auſtralis incognita*, tranſlated from the original.

A critical eſſay upon the art of *canting*, philoſophically, phyſically, and muſically conſidered.

TO

The Right Honourable

JOHN Lord Sommers.

My LORD,

THO' the author has written a large dedication, yet that being addreſſed to a Prince, whom I am never likely to have the honour of being known to; a perſon, beſides, as far as I can obſerve, not at all regarded or thought on by any of our preſent writers; and being wholly free from that ſlavery, which bookſellers uſually ly under, to the caprices of authors; I think it a wiſe piece of preſumption to inſcribe theſe papers to your Lordſhip, and to implore your Lordſhip's protection of them. God and your Lordſhip know their faults, and their merits: for, as to my own particular, I am altogether a ſtranger to the matter; and tho' every body elſe ſhould be equally ignorant, I do not fear the ſale of the book at all the worſe upon that ſcore. Your Lordſhip's name on the front in capital letters, will at any time get off one edition: neither would I deſire any other help to grow an alderman, than a patent for the ſole privilege of dedicating to your Lordſhip.

I ſhould now, in right of a dedicator, give your Lordſhip a liſt of your own virtues, and, at the ſame time, be very unwilling to offend your modeſty; but, chiefly, I ſhould celebrate your liberality towards men of great parts and ſmall fortunes, and give you broad hints that I mean myſelf. And I was juſt going on in the uſual method, to peruſe a hundred or two of dedications, and tranſcribe an abſtract, to be applied to your Lordſhip; but I was diverted

diverted by a certain accident. For, upon the covers of these papers, I casually observed written in large letters, the two following words, *DETUR DIGNISSIMO*; which, for ought I knew, might contain some important meaning. But it unluckily fell out, that none of the authors I employ understood Latin; (tho' I have them often in pay to translate out of that language.) I was therefore compelled to have recourse to the curate of our parish, who englished it thus, *Let it be given to the worthiest:* and his comment was, that the author meant, his works should be dedicated to the sublimest genius of the age for wit, learning, judgment, eloquence, and wisdom. I called at a poet's chamber, (who works for my shop) in an alley hard by, shewed him the translation, and desired his opinion, who it was that the author could mean. He told me, after some consideration, that vanity was a thing he abhorred; but, by the description, he thought himself to be the person aimed at; and, at the same time, he very kindly offered his own assistance *gratis*, towards penning a dedication to himself. I desired him, however, to give a second guess. Why then, said he, it must be I, or my Lord Sommers. From thence I went to several other wits of my acquaintance, with no small hazard and weariness to my person, from a prodigious number of dark, winding stairs; but found them all in the same story, both of your Lordship and themselves. Now your Lordship is to understand, that this proceeding was not of my own invention; for I have somewhere heard it is a maxim, that those to whom every body allows the second place, have an undoubted title to the first.

This infallibly convinced me, that your Lordship was the person intended by the author. But, being very unacquainted in the style and form of dedications, I employed those wits aforesaid, to furnish me with hints and materials towards a panegyric upon your Lordship's virtues.

In two days they brought me ten sheets of paper filled up on every side. They swore to me, that they had ransacked whatever could be found in the characters of Socrates, Aristides, Epaminondas, Cato, Tully, Atticus, and

and other hard names which I cannot now recollect. However, I have reaſon to believe they impoſed upon my ignorance, becauſe when I came to read over their collections, there was not a ſyllable there, but what I and every body elſe knew as well as themſelves. Therefore I grievouſly ſuſpect a cheat; and that theſe authors of mine ſtole and tranſcribed every word from the univerſal report of mankind. So that I look upon myſelf as fifty ſhillings out of pocket, to no manner of purpoſe.

If, by altering the title, I could make the ſame materials ſerve for another dedication, (as my betters have done) it would help to make up my loſs: but I have made ſeveral perſons dip here and there in thoſe papers, and before they read three lines, they have all aſſured me plainly, that they cannot poſſibly be applied to any perſon beſides your Lordſhip.

I expected, indeed, to have heard of your Lordſhip's bravery, at the head of an army; of your undaunted courage, in mounting a breach, or ſcaling a wall; or, to have had your pedigree traced in a lineal deſcent from the houſe of Auſtria; or, of your wonderful talent at dreſs and dancing; or, of your profound knowledge in Algebra, Metaphyſics, and the Oriental tongues. But to ply the world with an old beaten ſtory of your wit, and eloquence, and learning, and wiſdom, and juſtice, and politeneſs, and candour, and evenneſs of temper in all ſcenes of life; of that great diſcernment in diſcovering, and readineſs in favouring deſerving men; with forty other common topics: I confeſs, I have neither conſcience, nor countenance to do it. Becauſe there is no virtue, either of a public or private life, which ſome circumſtances of your own have not often produced upon the ſtage of the world; and thoſe few, which, for want of occaſions to exert them, might otherwiſe have paſſed unſeen or unobſerved by your *friends*, your * *enemies* have at length brought to light.

'Tis

* In 1701 Lord Sommers was impeached by the Commons, who, either finding their proofs defective, or for other reaſons, delayed coming to a trial; and the Lords thereupon proceeded to the trial without them, and acquitted him.

'Tis true, I ſhould be very loth the bright example of your Lordſhip's virtues ſhould be loſt to after-ages, both for their ſake and your own; but chiefly, becauſe they will be ſo very neceſſary to adorn the hiſtory of a *late* * *reign*: and that is another reaſon why I would forbear to make a recital of them here; becauſe I have been told by wiſe men, that as dedications have run for ſome years paſt, a good hiſtorian will not be apt to have recourſe thither, in ſearch of characters.

THERE is one point wherein I think we dedicators would do well to change our meaſures; I mean, inſtead of running on ſo far upon the praiſe of our patrons *liberality*, to ſpend a word or two in admiring their *patience*. I can put no greater compliment on your Lordſhip's, than by giving you ſo ample an occaſion to exerciſe it at preſent. Tho' perhaps I ſhall not be apt to reckon much merit to your Lordſhip upon that ſcore, who having been formerly uſed to tedious harangues†, and ſometimes to as little purpoſe, will be the readier to pardon this; eſpecially, when it is offered by one, who is with all reſpect and veneration,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

and moſt faithful ſervant,

The BOOKSELLER.

* King William's; whoſe memory he defended in the houſe of Lords, againſt ſome invidious reflexions of the Earl of Nottingham.

† Sir John Sommers was Attorney-general; then made Lord Keeper of the Seals in 1692, and Lord High Chancellor and Baron of Eveſham in April 1697.

THE

BOOKSELLER to the READER.

IT is now * six years since these papers came first to my hand, which seems to have been about a twelve-month after they were written. For the author tells us in his preface to the first treatise, that he hath calculated it for the year 1697; and in several passages of that discourse, as well as the second, it appears they were written about that time.

As to the author, I can give no manner of satisfaction; however, I am credibly informed, that this publication is without his knowledge; for he concludes the copy is lost, having lent it to a person since dead, and being never in possession of it after. So that whether the work received his last hand, or whether he intended to fill up the defective places, is like to remain a secret.

IF I should go about to tell the reader, by what accident I became master of these papers, it would, in this unbelieving age, pass for little more than the cant or jargon of the trade. I therefore gladly spare both him and myself so unnecessary a trouble. There yet remains a difficult question, why I published them no sooner? I forebore upon two accounts: first, because I thought I had better work upon my hands; and secondly, because I was not without some hope of hearing from the author, and receiving his directions. But I have been lately alarmed with intelligence of a surreptitious copy†, which a certain great wit had new polished and refined; or, as our present writers express themselves, *fitted to the humour of the age*; as they have already done, with great felicity, to Don Quixote, Boccalini, la Bruyere, and other authors. However, I thought it fairer dealing to offer the whole work in its naturals. If any gentleman will please to furnish me with a key, in order to explain the more difficult parts, I shall very gratefully acknowledge the favour, and print it by itself.

THE

* The Tale of a Tub was first published in 1704.

† See the Apology.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY, TO His Royal Highneſs Prince POSTERITY.

SIR,

I HERE preſent your Highneſs with the fruits of a very few leiſure hours, ſtolen from the ſhort intervals of a world of buſineſs, and of an employment quite alien from ſuch amuſements as this; the poor production of that refuſe of time which has lain heavy upon my hands, during a long prorogation of parliament, a great dearth of foreign news, and a tedious fit of rainy weather. For which, and other reaſons, it cannot chuſe extremely to deſerve ſuch a patronage as that of your Highneſs, whoſe numberleſs virtues in ſo few years, make the world look upon you as the future example to all princes. For altho' your Highneſs is hardly got clear of infancy,

The citation out of Iræneus in the *title-page*, which ſeems to be all *gibberiſh*, is a form of initiation uſed antiently by the Marcoſian heretics. William Wotton.

It is the uſual ſtyle of decried writers to appeal to poſterity, who is here repreſented as a prince in his nonage, and *time* as his governor; and the author begins in a way very frequent with him, by perſonating other writers, who ſometimes offer ſuch reaſons and excuſes for publiſhing their works, as they ought chiefly to conceal and be aſhamed of.

yet has the univerſal learned world already reſolved upon appealing to your future dictates with the loweſt and moſt reſigned ſubmiſſion; fate having decreed you ſole arbiter of the productions of human wit, in this polite and moſt accompliſhed age. Methinks, the number of appellants were enough to ſhock and ſtartle any judge of a genius leſs unlimited than yours. But, in order to prevent ſuch glorious trials, the *perſon*, it ſeems, to whoſe care the education of your Highneſs is committed, has reſolved, (as I am told) to keep you in almoſt an univerſal ignorance of our ſtudies, which it is your inherent birth-right to inſpect.

It is amazing to me, that this *perſon* ſhould have aſſurance, in the face of the ſun, to go about perſuading your Highneſs, that our age is almoſt wholly illiterate, and has hardly produced one writer upon any ſubject. I know very well, that when your Highneſs ſhall come to riper years, and have gone thro' the learning of antiquity, you will be too curious to neglect inquiring into the authors of the very age before you. And to think that this *inſolent*, in the account he is preparing for your view, deſigns to reduce them to a number ſo inſignificant as I am aſhamed to mention; it moves my zeal and my ſpleen for the honour and intereſt of our vaſt flouriſhing body, as well as of myſelf, for whom I know, by long experience, he has profeſſed, and ſtill continues a peculiar malice.

'Tis not unlikely, that when your Highneſs will one day peruſe what I am now writing, you may be ready to expoſtulate with your *Governor* upon the credit of what I here affirm, and command him to ſhew you ſome of our productions. To which he will anſwer, (for I am well informed of his deſigns) by aſking your Highneſs, where they are? and, what is become of them? and pretend it a demonſtration that there never were any, becauſe they are not then to be found. Not to be found! who has miſled them? are they ſunk in the abyſs of things? 'tis certain, that in their own nature they were *light* enough to ſwim upon the ſurface for all eternity. Therefore

fore the fault is in him, who tied weights so heavy to their heels, as to depress them to the centre. Is there very essence destroyed? who has annihilated them? were they drowned by *purges*, or martyred by *pipes*? who administred them to the posteriors of———? But, that it may no longer be a doubt with your Highness, who is to be the author of this universal ruin, I beseech you to observe that large and terrible *sceptre* which your *Governor* affects to bear continually about him; be pleased to remark the length and strength, the sharpness and hardness of his *nails* and *teeth*; consider his baneful abominable *breath*, enemy to life and matter, infectious and corrupting; and then reflect whether it be possible for any mortal ink and paper of this generation to make a suitable resistance. Oh! that your Highness would one day resolve to disarm this usurping *Maitre du palais* * of his furious engines, and bring your empire *hors de page* †.

It were endless to recount the several methods of tyranny and destruction which your *Governor* is pleased to practise upon this occasion. His inveterate malice is such to the writings of our age, that of several thousands produced yearly from this renowned city, before the next revolution of the sun, there is not one to be heard of: unhappy infants, many of them barbarously destroyed, before they have so much as learned their *mother-tongue* to beg for pity. Some he stifles in their cradles; others he frights into convulsions, whereof they suddenly die: some he flays alive, others he tears limb from limb: great numbers are offered to Moloch; and the rest, tainted by his breath, die of a languishing consumption.

* *Comptroller.* The kingdom of France had a race of kings which they call *les roys faineans* (from their doing nothing) who lived lazily in their apartments, while the kingdom was administred by the *Mayor de palais*, till Charles Martel, the last mayor, put his master to death, and took the kingdom into his own hand.

† *Out of guardianship.*

BUT the concern I have moſt at heart, is for our corporation of *poets*; from whom I am preparing a petition to your Highneſs, to be ſubſcribed with the names of one hundred thirty ſix of the firſt rate; but whoſe immortal productions are never likely to reach your eyes, tho' each of them is now an humble and an earneſt appellant for the laurel, and has large comely volumes ready to ſhew for a ſupport to his pretenſions. The *never-dying* works of theſe illuſtrious perſons, your *Governor*, Sir, has devoted to unavoidable death; and your Highneſs is to be made believe, that our age has never arrived at the honour to produce one ſingle poet.

WE confeſs *immortality* to be a great and powerful goddeſs: but in vain we offer up to her our devotions and our ſacrifices, if your Highneſs's *Governor*, who has uſurped the *prieſthood*, muſt, by an unparallelled ambition and avarice, wholly intercept and devour them.

To affirm that our age is altogether unlearned, and devoid of writers in any kind, ſeems to be an aſſertion ſo bold and ſo falſe, that I have been ſometime thinking, the contrary may almoſt be proved by uncontroulable demonſtration. 'Tis true indeed, that altho' their numbers be vaſt, and their productions numerous in proportion; yet are they hurried ſo haſtily off the ſcene, that they eſcape our memory, and delude our ſight. When I firſt thought of this addreſs, I had prepared a copious liſt of *titles* to preſent your Highneſs, as an undiſputed argument for what I affirm. The originals were poſted freſh upon all gates and corners of ſtreets; but, returning in a very few hours to take a review, they were all torn down, and freſh ones in their places. I inquired after them among readers and booksellers: but I inquired in vain; the *memorial of them was loſt among men, their fame was no more to be found:* and I was laughed to ſcorn for a *clown*, and a *pedant*, without all taſte and refinement, little verſed in the courſe of *preſent* affairs; and that knew nothing of what had paſſed in the beſt companies of court and town. So that I can only avow in general to your Highneſs, that we do abound in learning

ing and wit; but to fix upon particulars, is a taſk too ſlippery for my ſlender abilities. If I ſhould venture in a windy day to affirm to your Highneſs, that there is a large cloud near the *horizon* in the form of a *bear*, another in the *zenith* with the head of an *aſs*, a third to the weſtward with claws like a *dragon*; and your Highneſs ſhould in a few minutes think fit to examine the truth; 'tis certain they would all be changed in figure and poſition; new ones would ariſe; and all we could agree upon would be, that clouds there were, but that I was groſsly miſtaken in the *zoography* and *topography* of them.

But your *Governor* perhaps may ſtill inſiſt, and put the queſtion, what is then become of thoſe immenſe bales of paper, which muſt needs have been employed in ſuch numbers of books? can theſe alſo be wholly annihilate, and ſo of a ſudden, as I pretend? What ſhall I ſay in return of ſo invidious an objection? it ill befits the diſtance between your Highneſs and me, to ſend you for ocular conviction to a *jakes* or an *oven*; to the windows of a *bawdy-houſe*, or to a ſordid *lanthern*. Books, like men, their authors, have no more than one way of coming into the world; but there are ten thouſand to go out of it, and return no more.

I profeſs to your Highneſs, in the integrity of my heart, that what I am going to ſay, is literally true this minute I am writing. What revolutions may happen before it ſhall be ready for your peruſal, I can by no means warrant. However, I beg you to accept it as a ſpecimen of our learning, our politeneſs, and our wit. I do therefore affirm, upon the word of a ſincere man, that there is now actually in being a certain poet, called *John Dryden*, whoſe tranſlation of Virgil was lately printed in a large folio, well bound; and, if diligent ſearch were made, for ought I know, is yet to be ſeen. There is another, called *Nahum Tate*, who is ready to make oath, that he has cauſed many reams of verſe to be publiſhed, whereof both himſelf and his bookſeller, (if lawfully required) can ſtill produce authentic copies; and therefore wonders why the world is pleaſed to make

ſuch a ſecret of it. There is a third, known by the name of *Tom Durfy*, a poet of a vaſt comprehenſion, an univerſal genius, and moſt profound learning. There are alſo one Mr. *Rymer*, and one Mr. *Dennis*, moſt profound critics. There is a perſon ſtyled Dr. *B——n——y*, who has written near a thouſand pages of immenſe erudition, *giving a full and true account* of a certain *ſquabble* of wonderful importance between himſelf and a bookſeller*. He is a writer of infinite wit and humour; no man rallies with a better grace, and in more ſprightly turns. Farther, I avow to your Highneſs, that with theſe eyes I have beheld the perſon of William W——tt——n, B. D. who has written a good ſizeable volume againſt a *friend of your Governor* † (from whom, alas! he muſt therefore look for little favour) in a moſt gentlemanly ſtyle, adorned with the utmoſt politeneſs and civility; replete with diſcoveries, equally valuable for their novelty and uſe; and embelliſhed with *traits* of wit ſo poignant and ſo appoſite, that he is a worthy yokemate to his forementioned *friend*.

WHY ſhould I go upon farther particulars, which might fill a volume with the juſt elogies of my cotemporary brethren? I ſhall bequeath this piece of juſtice to a larger work; wherein I intend to write a character of the preſent ſet of *wits* in our nation. Their perſons I ſhall deſcribe particulary, and at length; their genius and underſtandings in *mignature*.

IN the mean time, I do here make bold to preſent your Highneſs with a faithful abſtract drawn from the univerſal body of all arts and ſciences, intended wholly for your ſervice and inſtruction. Nor do I doubt in the leaſt, but your Highneſs will peruſe it as carefully, and

* Bentley in his controverſy with Lord Orrery upon the genuineneſs of Phalaris's epiſtles has given, in a preface, a long account of his dialogues with a bookſeller about the loan and reſtitution of a MS.

† Sir William Temple.

and make as conſiderable improvements, as *other* young *Princes* have already done, by the many volumes of late years written for a help to their ſtudies ‡.

THAT your Highneſs may advance in wiſdom and virtue, as well as years, and at laſt outſhine all your royal anceſtors, ſhall be the daily prayer of,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's

December,
1697.

Moſt devoted, &c.

‡ There were innumerable books printed for the uſe of the Dauphine of France.

THE

PREFACE.

THE wits of the preſent age being ſo very numerous and penetrating, it ſeems the grandees of *Church* and *State* begin to fall under horrible apprehenſions, leſt theſe gentlemen, during the intervals of a long peace, ſhould find leiſure to pick holes in the weak ſides of religion and government. To prevent which, there has been much thought employed of late upon certain projects for taking off the force and edge of thoſe formidable inquirers, from canvaſſing and reaſoning upon ſuch delicate points. They have at length fixed upon one, which will require ſome time as well as coſt to perfect. Mean while the danger hourly increaſing, by new levies of wits, all appointed (as there is reaſon to fear) with pen, ink, and paper, which may, at an hour's warning, be drawn out into pamphlets, and other offenſive weapons, ready for immediate execution; it was judged of abſolute neceſſity, that ſome preſent expedient be thought on, till the main deſign can be brought to maturity. To this end, at a grand committee, ſome days ago, this important diſcovery was made by a certain curious and refined obſerver, that ſeamen have a cuſtom, when they meet a *whale*, to fling him out an empty *tub* by way of amuſement, to divert him from laying violent hands upon the ſhip. This parable was immediately mythologiſed. The *whale* was interpreted to be Hobbes's *Leviathan*; which toſſes and plays with all ſchemes of religion and government, whereof a great many are hollow, and dry, and empty, and noiſy, and wooden, and given to rotation. This is the *leviathan* from whence the terrible wits of our age are ſaid to borrow their weapons. The *ſhip* in danger is eaſily underſtood to be its old antitype the *commonwealth*. But how to analyſe the *tub*, was a matter

matter of difficulty; when, after long inquiry and debate, the literal meaning was preſerved: and it was decreed, that in order to prevent theſe *leviathans* from toſſing and ſporting with the *commonwealth*, which of itſelf is too apt to *fluctuate*, they ſhould be diverted from that game by a *Tale of a Tub*. And my genius being conceived to ly not unhappily that way, I had the honour done me to be engaged in the performance.

THIS is the ſole deſign in publiſhing the following treatiſe; which, I hope, will ſerve for an *interim* of ſome months to employ thoſe unquiet ſpirits, till the perfecting of that great work: into the ſecret of which, it is reaſonable the courteous reader ſhould have ſome little light.

IT is intended that a large academy be erected, capable of containing nine thouſand ſeven hundred forty and three perſons; which, by modeſt computation, is reckoned to be pretty near the current number of *wits* in this iſland. Theſe are to be diſpoſed into the ſeveral ſchools of this academy, and there purſue thoſe ſtudies to which their genius moſt inclines them. The undertaker himſelf will publiſh his propoſals with all convenient ſpeed; to which I ſhall refer the curious reader for a more particular account, mentioning at preſent only a few of the principal ſchools: there is, firſt, a large *Pæderaſtic* ſchool, with *French* and *Italian* maſters: there is alſo the *Spelling* ſchool, *a very ſpacious building*: the ſchool of *Looking-glaſſes*: the ſchool of *Swearing*: the ſchool of *Critics*: the ſchool of *Salivation*: the ſchool of *Hobby-horſes*: the ſchool of *Poetry*: the ſchool of *Tops* *: the ſchool of *Spleen*: the ſchool of *Gaming*: with many others too tedious to recount. No perſon to be admitted member into any of theſe ſchools, without an atteſtation under two ſufficient perſons hands, certifying him to be a *wit*.

BUT to return: I am ſufficiently inſtructed in the principal duty of a preface, if my genius were capable of arriving

* This, I think, the Author ſhould have omitted, it being of the very ſame nature with the *ſchool of hobby-horſes*; if one may venture to cenſure one who is ſo ſevere a cenſurer of others, perhaps with too little diſtinction.

arriving at it. Thrice have I forced my imagination to make the *tour* of my invention, and thrice it has returned empty: the latter having been wholly drained by the following treatise. Not so my more successful brethren the *moderns*, who will by no means let slip a preface or dedication, without some notable distinguishing stroke to surprise the reader at the entry, and kindle a wonderful expectation of what is to ensue. Such was that of a most ingenious poet, who soliciting his brain for something new, compared himself to the *bangman*, and his patron to the *patient*. This was † *insigne, recens, indictum ore alio*. When I went thro' that necessary and noble course of study ‡, I had the happiness to observe many such egregious touches; which I shall not injure the authors by transplanting; because I have remarked, that nothing is so very tender as a *modern* piece of wit, and which is apt to suffer so much in the carriage. Some things are extremely witty; *to-day*, or *fasting*, or *in cold blood*, or *at eight o' clock*, or *over a bottle*, or *spoke by Mr.* What-d'y'call'm, or *in a summer's morning*; any of the which, by the smallest transposal or misapplication, is utterly annihilate. Thus, [illegible] has its walks and purlieus, out of which it may not stray the breadth of an hair upon peril of being lost. The *moderns* have artfully fixed this *mercury*, and reduced it to the circumstances of time, place, and person. Such a jest there is, that will not pass out of Covent-Garden, and such a one, that is no where intelligible but at Hyde-park corner. [illegible] sometimes tenderly affects me to consider, that all the towardly passages I shall deliver in the following treatise, will grow quite out of date and relish with the first shifting of the present scene; yet I must need, [illegible] to the justice of this proceeding; because I cannot imagine why we should be at expense to furnish wit for succeeding ages, when the former have made no sort of provision for ours: wherein I speak the sentiment of the very newest, and consequently the most [illegible] refiners,

as

† *Hor.* Something extraordinary new, and never hit upon before.

‡ [Reading Prefaces. &c.]

as well as my own. However, being extremely ſollicitous, that every accompliſhed perſon, who has got into the taſte of wit calculated for this preſent month of Auguſt, 1697, ſhould deſcend to the very *bottom* of all the *ſublime* throughout this treatiſe, I hold fit to lay down this general maxim: whatever reader deſires to have a thorough comprehenſion of an author's thoughts, cannot take a better method, than by putting himſelf into the circumſtances and poſtures of life, that the writer was in upon every important paſſage, as it flowed from his pen: for this will introduce a parity and ſtrict correſpondence of ideas between the reader and the author. Now, to aſſiſt the diligent reader in ſo delicate an affair, as far as brevity will permit, I have recollected, that the ſhrewdeſt pieces of this treatiſe were conceived in bed, in a garret. At other times, for a reaſon beſt known to myſelf, I thought fit to ſharpen my invention with hunger: and in general, the whole work was begun, continued and ended, under a long courſe of phyſic, and a great want of money. Now, I do affirm, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for the candid peruſer to go along with me in a great many bright paſſages, unleſs, upon the ſeveral difficulties emergent, he will pleaſe to capacitate and prepare himſelf by theſe directions. And this I lay down as my principal *poſtulatum*.

BECAUSE I have profeſſed to be a moſt devoted ſervant of all *modern* forms, I apprehend ſome curious *wit* may object againſt me, for proceeding thus far in a preface, without declaiming, according to the cuſtom, againſt the multitude of writers, whereof the whole multitude of writers moſt reaſonably complain. I am juſt come from peruſing ſome hundreds of prefaces, wherein the authors do at the very beginning addreſs the gentle reader concerning this enormous grievance. Of theſe I have preſerved a few examples, and ſhall ſet them down as near as my memory has been able to retain them.

One begins thus:

"For a man to ſet up for a writer, when the preſs "ſwarms with, *&c.*"

Another:

Another:

"The tax upon paper does not leſſen the number of "ſcriblers, who daily peſter, &c."

Another:

"When every little Would-be-wit takes pen in hand, "'tis in vain to enter the liſts, &c."

Another:

"To obſerve what traſh the preſs ſwarms with, &c."

Another:

"Sir, It is merely in obedience to your commands, "that I venture into the public: for who, upon a leſs "conſideration, would be of a party with ſuch a rabble "of ſcriblers? &c."

Now, I have two words in my own defence againſt this objection. Firſt, I am far from granting the number of writers a nuſance to our nation; having ſtrenuouſly maintained the contrary in ſeveral parts of the following diſcourſe. Secondly, I do not well underſtand the juſtice of this proceeding; becauſe I obſerve many of theſe polite prefaces to be not only from the ſame hand, but from thoſe who are moſt voluminous in their ſeveral productions: upon which I ſhall tell the reader a ſhort tale.

"A mountebank, in Leiceſter-fields, had drawn a huge "aſſembly about him. Among the reſt, a fat unwieldy "fellow, half ſtifled in the preſs, would be every fit "crying out,—Lord! what a filthy crowd is here! Pray, "good people, give way a little. Bleſs me! what a "devil has raked this rabble together! Z——ds, "what ſqueezing is this! Honeſt friend, remove your "elbow.———At laſt a *weaver*, that ſtood next him, "could hold no longer.——A plague confound you, "(ſaid he) for an overgrown ſloven; and who, (in the "devil's name), I wonder, helps to make up the crowd "half ſo much as yourſelf? Don't you conſider, (with "a pox) that you take up more room with that carcaſs "than any five here? Is not the place as free for us as "for you? Bring your own guts to a reaſonable com-"paſs, (and be d——n'd); and then I'll engage we ſhall "have room enough for us all."

THERE are certain common privileges of a writer; the benefit whereof. I hope, there will be no reaſon to doubt; particularly, that, where I am not underſtood, it ſhall be concluded, that ſomething very uſeful and profound is couched underneath; and again, that whatever word or ſentence is printed in a different character, ſhall be judged to contain ſomething extraordinary either of *wit* or *ſublime*.

As for the liberty I have thought fit to take of praiſing myſelf, upon ſome occaſions or none, I am ſure it will need no excuſe, if a multitude of great examples be allowed ſufficient authority. For it is here to be noted, that *praiſe* was originally a penſion paid by the world: but the *moderns*, finding the trouble and charge too great in collecting it, have lately bought out the *fee-ſimple*; ſince which time the right of preſentation is wholly in ourſelves. For this reaſon it is, that when an author makes his own elogy, he uſes a certain form to declare and inſiſt upon his title; which is commonly in theſe or the like words, *I ſpeak without vanity*: which, I think, plainly ſhews it to be a matter of right and juſtice. Now, I do here once for all declare, that in every encounter of this nature, thro' the following treatiſe, the form aforeſaid is implied; which I mention to ſave the trouble of repeating it on ſo many occaſions.

'TIS a great eaſe to my conſcience, that I have written ſo elaborate and uſeful a diſcourſe without one grain of ſatire intermixed; which is the ſole point wherein I have taken leave to diſſent from the famous originals of our age and country. I have obſerved ſome ſatiriſts to uſe the public much at the rate, that pedants do a naughty boy ready horſed for diſcipline: firſt, expoſtulate the caſe, then plead the neceſſity of the rod, from great provocations, and conclude every period with a laſh. Now, if I know any thing of mankind, theſe gentlemen might very well ſpare their reproof and correction: for there is not thro' all nature another ſo callous and inſenſible a member as the *world's poſteriors*, whether you apply to it the *toe* or the *birch*. Beſides, moſt of our late ſatiriſts ſeem to ly under a ſort of miſtake, that becauſe *nettles* have the prerogative to ſting, therefore all *other weeds* muſt do ſo too. I make not

not this compariſon out of the leaſt deſign to detract from theſe worthy writers: for it is well known among *mythologiſts*, that *weeds* have the pre-eminence over all other vegetables; and therefore the firſt *monarch* of this iſland, whoſe taſte and judgment were ſo acute and refined, did very wiſely root out the *roſes* from the collar of the *order*, and plant the *thiſtles* in their ſtead, as the nobler flower of the two. For which reaſon it is conjectured by profounder antiquaries, that the ſatirical itch, ſo prevalent in this part of our iſland, was firſt brought among us from beyond the Tweed. Here may it long flouriſh and abound. May it ſurvive and neglect the ſcorn of the world, with as much eaſe and contempt as the world is inſenſible to the laſhes of it. May their own dulneſs, or that of their party, be no diſcouragement for the authors to proceed: but let them remember, it is with *wits* as with *razors*, which are never ſo apt to *cut* thoſe they are employed on, as when they have *loſt their edge*. Beſides, thoſe whoſe teeth are too rotten to bite, are beſt of all others qualified to revenge that defect with their breath.

I am not like other men, to envy or undervalue the talents I cannot reach; for which reaſon I muſt needs bear a true honour to this large eminent ſect of our Britiſh writers. And I hope, this little panegyric will not be offenſive to their ears, ſince it has the advantage of being only deſigned for themſelves. Indeed, nature herſelf has taken order, that fame and honour ſhould be purchaſed at a better pennyworth by ſatire, than by any other productions of the brain; the world being ſooneſt provoked to *praiſe* by *laſhes*, as men are to *love*. There is a problem in an antient author, why dedications, and other bundles of flattery, run all upon ſtale muſty topics, without the ſmalleſt tincture of any thing new; not only to the torment and nauſeating of the *chriſtian* reader, but, if not ſuddenly prevented, to the univerſal ſpreading of that peſtilent diſeaſe, the lethargy, in this iſland: whereas there is very little ſatire which has not ſomething in it untouched before. The defects of the former are uſually imputed to the want of invention among thoſe who are dealers in that kind: but, I think, with

a great deal of injuſtice; the ſolution being eaſy and natural: for the materials of panegyric, being very few in number, have been long ſince exhauſted. For, as health is but one thing, and has been always the ſame, whereas diſeaſes are by thouſands, beſides new and daily additions; ſo all the virtues that have been ever in mankind, are to be counted upon a few fingers; but his follies and vices are innumerable, and time adds hourly to the heap. Now, the utmoſt a poor poet can do, is, to get by heart a liſt of the cardinal virtues, and deal them with his utmoſt liberality to his hero or his patron. He may ring the changes as far as it will go, and vary his phraſe till he has talked round; but the reader quickly finds it is all *pork* *, with a little variety of ſauce. For there is no inventing terms of art beyond our ideas; and when our ideas are exhauſted, terms of art muſt be ſo too.

BUT, tho' the matter for panegyric were as fruitful as the topics of ſatire, yet would it not be hard to find out a ſufficient reaſon, why the latter will be always better received than the firſt. For, this being beſtowed only upon one or a few perſons at a time, is ſure to raiſe envy, and conſequently ill words, from the reſt, who have no ſhare in the bleſſing. But ſatire being levelled at all, is never reſented for an offence by any; ſince every individual perſon makes bold to underſtand it of others, and very wiſely removes his particular part of the burden upon the ſhoulders of the world, which are broad enough, and able to bear it. To this purpoſe, I have ſometimes reflected upon the difference between Athens and England, with reſpect to the point before us. In the ‖ Attic commonwealth, it was the privilege and birthright of every citizen and poet, to rail aloud and in public, or to expoſe upon the ſtage, by name, any perſon they pleaſed, tho' of the greateſt figure, whether a Creon, an Hyperbolus, an Alcibiades, or a Demoſthenes. But, on the other ſide, the leaſt reflecting word let fall againſt the *people* in general, was immediately caught up, and revenged upon the authors,

* Plutarch. ‖ *Vid.* Xen.

authors, however considerable for their quality or their merits. Whereas, in England, it is just the reverse of all this. Here, you may securely display your utmost *rhetoric* against mankind in the face of the world; tell them, "That all are gone astray; that there is none "that doth good, no not one; that we live in the "very dregs of time; that knavery and atheism are e-"pidemic as the pox; that honesty is fled with Astraea:" with any other common places *equally* new and eloquent, which are furnished by the *splendidae tribus*. And when you have done, the whole audience, far from being offended, shall return you thanks, as a deliverer of precious and useful truths. Nay, farther, if it but to venture your lungs, and you may preach in *Covent-Garden* against foppery and fornication, and [illegible] against pride, and dissimulation and [illegible] *hall*: you may expose rapine and injustice in the [illegible] of *court* chapel; and in a [illegible] pulpit [illegible] please against avarice, [illegible] but a *ball* bandied [illegible] *racket* about him to strike it [illegible] of the company. But, on the other side, [illegible] mistake the nature of things so far, as to drop [illegible] single hint in public, how [illegible] the fleet, and half poisoned the rest; how [illegible] from a true principle of [illegible] *wenches* and *play*; how [illegible] runs out of his estate; how [illegible] Venus ‡, loth to offend either [illegible] whole cause on the bench; or how [illegible] long speeches in the Senate with [illegible] sense, and to no purpose. Whoever [illegible] ture to be thus particular, must expect to be [illegible] for *scandalum magnatum*; [illegible] to be sued for *defamation*; and to be brought before the bar of the House.

† Hor. Spleen.

‡ *Juno* and *Venus* are money and a mistress, very powerful bribes to a judge, if scandal says true. I remember such reflexions were cast about that time; but I cannot fix the person intended here.

BUT I forget that I am expatiating on a ſubject wherein I have no concern, having neither a talent nor an inclination for ſatire! On the other ſide, I am ſo entirely ſatisfied with the whole preſent procedure of human things, that I have been ſome years preparing materials towards *A Panegyric upon the world*; to which I intended to add a ſecond part, intitled, *A modeſt defence of the proceedings of the rabble in all ages*. Both theſe I had thoughts to publiſh by way of appendix to the following treatiſe; but finding my common-place book ſtill much ſlower than I had reaſon to expect, I have choſen to defer them to another occaſion. Beſides, I have been unhappily prevented in that deſign, by a certain domeſtic misfortune: in the particulars whereof, tho' it would be very ſeaſonable, and much in the *modern* way, to inform the *gentle reader*, and would alſo be of great aſſiſtance towards extending this preface into the ſize now in vogue, which by rule ought to be *large*, in proportion as the ſubſequent volume is *ſmall*; yet I ſhall now diſmiſs our impatient reader from any farther attendance at the *porch*; and having duly prepared his mind by a preliminary diſcourſe, ſhall gladly introduce him to the ſublime myſteries that enſue.

A TALE

A

TALE OF A TUB.

SECTION I.

The INTRODUCTION.

WHOEVER hath an ambition to be heard in a crowd, muſt preſs, and ſqueeze, and thruſt, and climb with indefatigable pains, til he has exalted himſelf to a certain degree of altitude above them. Now, in all aſſemblies, tho' you wedge them ever ſo cloſe, we may obſerve this peculiar property, that over their heads there is room enough; but how to reach it, is the difficult point; it being as hard to get quit of *number*, as of *hell*.

> ——*Evadere ad auras,*
> *Hoc opus, hic labor eſt* †.

To this end, the philoſopher's way in all ages has been by erecting certain *edifices in the air*. But, whatever practice and reputation theſe kind of ſtructures have formerly poſſeſſed, or may ſtill continue in, not excepting even that of Socrates, when he was ſuſpended in a baſket to help contemplation; I think, with due ſubmiſſion, they ſeem to labour under two inconveniences. *Firſt*, That the foundations being laid too high, they have been often out of *ſight*, and ever out of *hearing*. *Secondly*,

† But to return, and view the chearful ſkies
In this the taſk and mighty labour lies;

Secondly, That the materials, being very tranſitory, have ſuffered much from inclemencies of air, eſpecially in theſe north-weſt regions.

THEREFORE, towards the juſt performance of this great work, there remain but three methods that I can think on; whereof the wiſdom of our anceſtors being highly ſenſible, has, to encourage all aſpiring adventurers, thought fit to erect three wooden machines, for the uſe of thoſe orators who deſire to talk much without interruption. Theſe are, the *pulpit*, the *ladder*, and the *ſtage-itinerant*. For, as to the *bar*, tho' it be compounded of the ſame matter, and deſigned for the ſame uſe, it cannot however be well allowed the honour of a fourth, by reaſon of its level or inferior ſituation, expoſing it to perpetual interruption from collaterals. Neither can the *bench* itſelf, tho' raiſed to a proper eminency, put in a better claim, whatever its advocates inſiſt on. For if they pleaſe to look into the original deſign of its erection, and the circumſtances or adjuncts ſubſervient to that deſign, they will ſoon acknowledge the preſent practice exactly correſpondent to the primitive inſtitution; and both to anſwer the etymology of the name, which in the Phœnician tongue is a word of great ſignification, importing, if literally interpreted, *the place of ſleep*; but in common acceptation, *a ſeat well bolſtered and cuſhioned, for the repoſe of old and gouty limbs: ſenes ut in otia tuta recedant:* fortune being indebted to them this part of retaliation, that, as formerly they have long *talked*, whilſt others *ſlept*; ſo now they may *ſleep* as long, whilſt others *talk*.

BUT if no other argument could occur to exclude the *bench* and the *bar* from the liſt of oratorial machines, it were ſufficient, that the admiſſion of them would overthrow a number which I was reſolved to eſtabliſh, whatever argument it might coſt me; in imitation of that prudent method obſerved by many other philoſophers and great clerks, whoſe chief art in diviſion has been to grow fond of ſome proper myſtical number, which their imaginations have rendered ſacred, to a degree, that they force common reaſon to find room for it in every part of nature:

nature: reducing, including, and adjuſting every *genus* and *ſpecies* within that compaſs, by coupling ſome againſt their wills, and baniſhing others at any rate. Now, among all the reſt, the profound number *THREE* is that which hath moſt employed my ſublimeſt ſpeculations, nor ever without wonderful delight. There is now in the preſs, and will be publiſhed next term, a panegyrical eſſay of mine upon this number; wherein I have, by moſt convincing proofs, not only reduced the *ſenſes* and the *elements* under its banner, but brought over ſeveral deſerters from its two great rivals *SEVEN* and *NINE*.

Now, the firſt of theſe oratorial machines in place, as well as dignity, is the *pulpit*. Of *pulpits* there are in this iſland ſeveral ſorts: but I eſteem only that made of timber from the *ſylva Caledonia*, which agrees very well with our climate. If it be upon its decay, it is the better, both for conveyance of ſound, and for other reaſons to be mentioned by and by. The degree of perfection in ſhape and ſize, I take to conſiſt in being extremely narrow, with little ornament, and beſt of all without a cover: (for, by antient rule, it ought to be the only uncovered *veſſel* in every aſſembly where it is rightfully uſed:) by which means, from its near reſemblance to a pillory, it will ever have a mighty influence on human ears.

Of *ladders* I need ſay nothing. It is obſerved by foreigners themſelves, to the honour of our country, that we excel all nations in our practice and underſtanding of this machine. The aſcending orators do not only oblige their audience in the agreeable delivery, but the whole world in the *early* publication of their ſpeeches; which I look upon as the choiceſt treaſury of our Britiſh eloquence; and whereof I am informed, that worthy citizen and bookſeller, Mr. John Dunton, hath made a faithful and a painful collection, which he ſhortly deſigns to publiſh in twelve volumes in folio, illuſtrated with copper-plates: a work highly uſeful and curious, and altogether worthy of ſuch a hand.

THE

THE laſt engine of orators is the *ſtage-itinerant* *, erected with much ſagacity, *ſub Jove pluvio, in triviis & quadriviis* †. It is the great ſeminary of the two former: and its orators are ſometimes preferred to the one, and ſometimes to the other, in proportion to their deſervings; there being a ſtrict and perpetual intercourſe between all three.

FROM this accurate deduction it is manifeſt, that, for obtaining attention in public, there is of neceſſity required a *ſuperior poſition of place*. But altho' this point be generally granted, yet the cauſe is little agreed in; and it ſeems to me, that very few philoſophers have fallen into a true natural ſolution of this *phænomenon*. The deepeſt account, and the moſt fairly digeſted of any I have yet met with, is this; that air being a heavy body, and therefore (according to the ſyſtem of Epicurus ‡) continually deſcending, muſt needs be more ſo, when loaden and preſſed down by words; which are alſo bodies of much weight and gravity, as it is manifeſt from thoſe deep *impreſſions* they make and leave upon us; and therefore muſt be delivered from a due altitude, or elſe they will neither carry a good aim, nor fall down with a ſufficient force.

Corpoream queque enim vocem conſtare fatendum eſt,
Et ſonitum, quoniam poſſunt impellere ſenſus ‖.
Lucret. Lib. 4.

AND I am the readier to favour this conjecture, from a common obſervation, That in the ſeveral aſſemblies of theſe orators, nature itſelf hath inſtructed the hearers to ſtand with their mouths open, and erected parallel to the horizon, ſo as they may be interſected by a perpendicular line from the zenith to the centre of the earth. In which

* Is the *Mountebank's ſtage*, whoſe orators the author determines either to the *gallows* or a *conventicle*.
† In the open air, and in ſtreets where the greateſt reſort is.
‡ Lucret. Lib. 2.
‖ 'Tis certain then, that *voice* that thus can wound,
Is all material; body every *ſound*.

which position, if the audience be well compact, every one carries home a share, and little or nothing is lost.

I confess, there is something yet more refined in the contrivance and structure of our modern theatres. For, first, the pit is sunk below the stage, with due regard to the institution above deduced; that whatever *weighty* matter shall be delivered thence, whether it be *lead* or *gold*, may fall plum into the jaws of certain *critics*, as I think they are called, which stand ready opened to devour them. Then, the boxes are built round, and raised to a level with the scene, in deference to the ladies; because that large portion of wit laid out in raising pruriences and protuberances, is observed to run much upon a line, and ever in a circle. The whining passions, and little starved conceits, are gently wafted up by their own extreme levity to the middle region; and there fix, and are frozen by the frigid understandings of the inhabitants. Bombastry and buffoonry, by nature lofty and light, soar highest of all; and would be lost in the roof, if the prudent architect had not with much foresight contrived for them a fourth place, called *the twelve-penny-gallery*; and there planted a suitable colony, who greedily intercept them in their passage.

Now, this physico-logical scheme of oratorial receptacles or machines, contains a great mystery; being a type, a sign, an emblem, a shadow, a symbol, bearing analogy to the spacious commonwealth of writers, and to those methods by which they must exalt themselves to a certain eminency above the inferior world. By the *pulpit* are adumbrated the writings of our *modern saints* in Great Britain, as they have spiritualized and refined them from the dross and grossness of *sense* and *human reason*. The matter, as we have said, is of rotten wood; and that upon two considerations; because it is the quality of rotten wood, to give *light* in the dark; and, secondly, because its cavities are full of worms; which is a * type with a pair of handles, having a respect to the two principal qualifications

* The two principal qualifications of a fanatic preacher are, his inward light, and his head full of maggots; and the two different fates of his writings are, to be burnt or worm eaten.

qualifications of the orator, and the two different fates attending upon his works.

THE *ladder* is an adequate ſymbol of *faction*, and of *poetry*; to both of which ſo noble a number of authors are indebted for their fame. Of *faction* *; becauſe *

* * * * *

* * * * * *Hiatus in*

* * * * * *MS.*

* * * * Of *poetry*;

becauſe its orators do *perorare* with a ſong; and becauſe climbing up by ſlow degrees, fate is ſure to turn them off before they can reach within many ſteps of the top; and becauſe it is a preferment attained by transferring of propriety, and a confounding of *meum* and *tuum*.

UNDER the *ſtage-itinerant* are couched thoſe productions deſigned for the pleaſure and delight of mortal man; ſuch as, *ſix-penny-worth of wit*, *Weſtminſter drolleries*, *delightful tales*, *compleat jeſters*, and the like; by which the writers of and for *GRUB-STREET* have in theſe latter ages ſo nobly triumphed over *time*; have clipped his wings, pared his nails, filled his teeth, turned back his hour-glaſs, blunted his ſcythe, and drawn the hob-nails out of his ſhoes. It is under this claſs I have preſumed to liſt my preſent treatiſe, being juſt come from having the honour conferred upon me, to be adopted a member of that illuſtrious fraternity.

Now, I am not unaware how the productions of the Grub-ſtreet brotherhood have of late years fallen under many prejudices; nor how it has been the perpetual employment of two *junior* ſtart-up ſocieties, to ridicule them and their authors, as unworthy their eſtabliſhed poſt in the commonwealth of wit and learning. Their own conſciences will eaſily inform them, whom I mean. Nor has the world been ſo negligent a looker on, as not to obſerve the

* Here is pretended a defect in the manuſcript; and this is very frequent with our author, either when he thinks he cannot ſay any thing worth reading, or when he has no mind to enter on the ſubject, or when it is a matter of little moment, or perhaps to amuſe his reader, whereof he is frequently very fond; or, laſtly, with ſome ſatyrical intention.

the continual efforts made by the ſocieties of Greſham * and of Will's †, to edify a name and reputation upon the ruin of OURS. And this is yet a more feeling grief to us, upon the regards of tenderneſs as well as of juſtice, when we reflect on their proceedings, not only as uniuſt, but as ungrateful, undutiful, and unnatural. For how can it be forgot by the world or themſelves, (to ſay nothing of our own records, which are full and clear in the point) that they both are ſeminaries, not only of our *planting*, but our *watering* too? I am informed, our two *rivals* have lately made an offer to enter into the liſts with united forces, and challenge us to a compariſon of books, both as to *weight* and *number*. In return to which, with licence from our *Preſident*, I humbly offer two anſwers. Firſt, we ſay, the propoſal is like that which Archimedes made upon a *ſmaller* affair ‡, including an impoſſibility in the practice: for where can they find ſcales of *capacity* enough for the firſt, or an arithmetician of *capacity* enough for the ſecond? Secondly, we are ready to accept the challenge; but with this condition, that a third indifferent perſon be aſſigned, to whoſe impartial judgment it ſhould be left to decide, which ſociety each book, treatiſe, or pamphlet, do moſt properly belong to. This point, God knows, is very far from being fixed at preſent. For we are ready to produce a catalogue of ſome thouſands, which in all common juſtice ought to be intitled to our fraternity, but, by the revolted and new-fangled writers, moſt perfidiouſly aſcribed to the others Upon all which, we think it very unbecoming our prudence, that the determination ſhould be remitted to the authors themſelves; when our adverſaries, by briguing and caballing, have cauſed ſo univerſal a de-

* Greſham college was the place where the Royal Society then met, from whence they removed to Crane-Court in Fleet-ſtreet.

† Will's Coffee-houſe in Covent-Garden was formerly the place where the poets uſually met, which, tho' it be yet freſh in memory, in ſome years may be forgotten, and want this explanation.

‡ *Viz.* About moving the earth.

fection from us, that the greateſt part of our ſociety hath already deſerted to them, and our neareſt friends begin to ſtand aloof, as if they were half aſhamed to own us.

THIS is the utmoſt I am authoriſed to ſay upon ſo ungrateful and melancholy a ſubject; becauſe we are extreme unwilling to inflame a controverſy, whoſe continuance may be ſo fatal to the intereſts of us all; deſiring much rather that things be amicably compoſed. And we ſhall ſo far advance on our ſide, as to be ready to receive the two *prodigals* with open arms, whenever they ſhall think fit to return from their *huſks* and their *harlots*; which, I think, from the preſent courſe of their ſtudies *, they moſt properly may be ſaid to be engaged in; and, like an indulgent parent, continue to them our affection and our bleſſing.

BUT the greateſt maim given to that general reception which the writings of our ſociety have formerly received, (next to the tranſitory ſtate of all ſublunary things) hath been a ſuperficial vein among many readers of the preſent age, who will by no means be perſuaded to inſpect beyond the ſurface and the rind of things. Whereas, *wiſdom* is a *fox*, who, after long hunting, will at laſt coſt you the pains to dig out. 'Tis a *cheeſe*, which by how much the richer, has the thicker, the homelier, and the coarſer coat; and whereof, to a judicious palate, the *maggots* are the beſt. 'Tis a *ſack-poſſet*, wherein the deeper you go, you will find it the ſweeter. *Wiſdom* is a *hen*, whoſe *cackling* we muſt value and conſider, becauſe it is attended with an *egg*. But then, laſtly, 'tis a *nut*, which, unleſs you chuſe with judgment, may coſt you a tooth, and pay you with nothing but a *worm*. In conſequence of theſe momentuous truths, the *Grubæan* ſages have always choſen to convey their precepts and their arts, ſhut up within the vehicles of types and fables; which having been perhaps more careful and curious in adorning than was altogether neceſſary, it has fared with theſe vehicles, after the uſual fate of coaches over-finely painted and gilt, that the tranſitory gazers have ſo dazzled their eyes, and filled their imaginations with the outward luſtre, as neither

* Virtuoſo experiments, and modern comedies.

neither to regard or consider the person or the parts of the owner within: a misfortune we undergo with somewhat less reluctancy, because it has been common to us with Pythagoras, Æsop, Socrates, and other of our predecessors.

However, that neither the world nor ourselves may any longer suffer by such misunderstandings, I have been prevailed on, after much importunity from my friends, to travel in a compleat and laborious dissertation upon the prime productions of our society: which, besides their beautiful externals for the gratification of superficial readers, have darkly and deeply couched under them, the most finished and refined systems of all sciences and arts: as I do not doubt to lay open by untwisting or unwinding, and either to draw up by exantlation, or display by incision.

This great work was entered upon some years ago, by one of our most eminent members. He began with the history of *Reynard* the *fox* *; but neither lived to publish his essay, nor to proceed farther in so useful an attempt: which is very much to be lamented; because the discovery he made, and communicated with his friends, is now universally received. Nor do I think any of the learned will dispute that famous treatise to be a compleat body of civil knowledge, and the *revelation*, or rather the *apocalypse*, of all state *arcana*. But the progress I have made is much greater; having already finished my annotations upon several dozens: from some of which I shall impart a few hints to the candid reader, as far as will be necessary to the conclusion at which I aim.

The first piece I have handled, is that of *Tom Thumb*, whose author was a Pythagorean philosopher. This dark treatise contains the whole scheme of the *Metempsychosis*, deducing the progress of the soul through all her stages.

The next is Dr. *Faustus*, penned by Artephius, an author *bonæ notæ*, and an *adeptus*. He published it in the

* The author seems here to be mistaken; for I have seen a Latin edition of Reynard the fox above a hundred years old, which I take to be the original; for the rest, it has been thought by many people to contain some satyrical design in it.

nine hundredth eighty fourth year of his age*. This writer proceeds wholly by *reincrudation*, or in the *via humida*. And the marriage between *Fauſtus* and *Helen*, does moſt conſpicuouſly dilucidate the fermenting of the *male* and *female dragon*.

Whittington and his cat, is the work of that myſterious Rabbi, Jehuda Hannaſi; containing a defence of the † *Gemara* of the *Jeruſalem Miſna*, and its juſt preference to that of *Babylon*; contrary to the vulgar opinion.

THE *hind and panther*. This is the maſter-piece of a famous writer now living ‡, intended for a compleat abſtract of fixteen thouſand ſchool-men from Scotus to Bellarmin.

Tommy Pots. Another piece ſuppoſed by the ſame hand, by way of ſupplement to the former.

THE *wiſe men of Goatham, cum appendice*. This is a treatiſe of immenſe erudition; being the great original and fountain of thoſe arguments, bandied about both in France and England, for a juſt defence of the *moderns* learning and wit, againſt the preſumption, the pride, and the ignorance of the *antients*. This unknown author hath ſo exhauſted the ſubject, that a penetrating reader will eaſily diſcover whatever hath been written ſince upon that diſpute, to be little more than repetition. An abſtract of this treatiſe hath been lately publiſhed by a *worthy member* of our ſociety ||.

THESE notices may ſerve to give the learned reader an idea as well as a taſte of what the whole work is likely to produce; wherein I have now altogether circumſcribed my thoughts and my ſtudies; and if I can bring it to a perfection before I die, ſhall reckon I have well employed the

* The Chymiſts ſay of him in their books, that he prolonged his life to a thouſand years, and then died voluntarily.

† The *Gemara* is the deciſion, explanation, or interpretation of the Jewiſh Rabbies: and the *Miſna* is properly the code or body of the Jewiſh civil or common law.

‡ *Viz.* In the year 1698.

|| This I ſuppoſe to be underſtood of Mr. Wotton's diſcourſe of antient and modern learning.

the ‡ poor remains of an unfortunate life. This indeed is more than I can juſtly expect from a quill worn to the pith in the ſervice of the State; in *pro*'s and *con*'s upon *Popiſh plots*, and * *meal-tubs*, and *excluſion-bills*, and *paſſive obedience*, and *addreſſes of lives and fortunes*, and *prerogative*, and *property*, and *liberty of conſcience*, and *letters to a friend*, from an underſtanding and a conſcience thread-bare and ragged with perpetual turning; from a head broken in an hundred places, by the malignants of the oppoſite factions; and from a body ſpent with poxes ill cured, by truſting to bawds and ſurgeons; who (as it afterwards appeared) were profeſſed enemies to me and the Government, and revenged their party's quarrel upon my noſe and ſhins. Fourſcore and eleven pamphlets have I written under three reigns, and for the ſervice of ſix and thirty factions. But, finding the State has no farther occaſion for me and my ink, I retire willingly to draw it out into ſpeculations more becoming a philoſopher; having, to my unſpeakable comfort, paſſed a long life with *a conſcience void of offence towards God and towards men*.

But to return: I am aſſured from the reader's candor, that the brief ſpecimen I have given, will eaſily clear all the reſt of our ſociety's productions from an aſperſion, grown, as it is manifeſt, out of envy and ignorance, that they are of little farther uſe or value to mankind beyond the common entertainments of their wit and their ſtyle: for theſe I am ſure have never yet been diſputed by our keeneſt adverſaries: in both which, as well as the more profound and myſtical part, I have throughout this treatiſe cloſely followed the moſt applauded originals. And to render all compleat, I have, with much thought and application of mind, ſo ordered, that the

‡ Here the author ſeems to perſonate *L'eſtrange*, Dryden, and ſome others, who, after having paſt their lives in vices, faction, and falſhood, have the impudence to talk of merit and innocence, and ſufferings.

* In King Charles II.'s time, there was an account of a *Preſbyterian* plot, found in a Tub, which then made much noiſe.

chief title prefixed to it, (I mean, that under which I deſign it ſhall paſs in the common converſations of court and town) is modelled exactly after the manner peculiar to *our* ſociety.

I confeſs to have been ſomewhat liberal in the buſineſs of † titles; having obſerved the humour of multiplying them to bear great vogue among certain writers whom I exceedingly reverence. And, indeed, it ſeems not unreaſonable, that books, the children of the brain, ſhould have the honour to be chriſtened with variety of names, as well as other infants of quality. Our famous Dryden has ventured to proceed a point farther, endeavouring to introduce alſo a multiplicity of ‖ *god-fathers*,' which is an improvement of much more advantage, upon a very obvious account. It is a pity this admirable invention has not been better cultivated, ſo as to grow by this time into general imitation, when ſuch an authority ſerves it for a precedent. Nor have my endeavours been wanting to ſecond ſo uſeful an example: but it ſeems, there is an unhappy expence uſually annexed to the calling of a god-father, which was clearly out of my head, as it is very reaſonable to believe. Where the pinch lay, I cannot certainly affirm; but having employed a world of thoughts and pains to ſplit my treatiſe into forty ſections, and having intreated forty Lords of my acquaintance, that they would do me the honour to ſtand, they all made it a matter of conſcience, and ſent me their excuſes.

SECT.

† The title-page in the original was ſo torn, that it was not poſſible to recover ſeveral titles, which the author here ſpeaks of.

‖ See Virgil tranſlated *&c.* He dedicated the different parts of Virgil to different patrons.

SECT. II.

ONCE upon a time, there was a man who had three *ſons by one wife, and all at a birth; neither could the midwife tell certainly which was the eldeſt. Their father died while they were young; and upon his death-bed, calling the lads to him, ſpoke thus:

"Sons, becauſe I have purchaſed no eſtate, nor was "born to any, I have long conſidered of ſome good "legacies to bequeath you; and at laſt, with much care "as well as expence, have provided each of you (*here "they are*) a new coat †. Now, you are to underſtand, "that theſe coats have two virtues contained in them. "One is, that, with good wearing, they will laſt you "freſh and ſound as long as you live: the other is, that "they will grow in the ſame proportion with your "bodies, lengthening and widening of themſelves, ſo "as to be always fit. Here, let me ſee them on you "before I die. So, very well; pray, children, wear "them clean, and bruſh them often. You will find in my "‖ will (*here it is*) full inſtructions in every particular "concerning the wearing and management of your coats; "wherein you muſt be very exact, to avoid the penal-"ties I have appointed for every tranſgreſſion or neglect, "upon which your future fortunes will entirely depend. "I have alſo commanded, in my will, that you ſhould "live together in one houſe, like brethren and friends; "for then you will be ſure to thrive, and not other-"wiſe."

HERE the ſtory ſays, this good father died, and the three ſons went all together to ſeek their fortunes.

I

* By theſe three ſons, Peter, Martin, and Jack, *Popery*, the *church* of England, and our *Proteſtant Diſſenters* are deſigned. W. Wotton.

† By his coats, which he gave his ſons, the garment of the Iſraelites. W. Wotton.

An error (with ſubmiſſion) of the learned commentator; for by the coats are meant the doctrine and faith of *Chriſtianity*, by the wiſdom of the Divine founder fitted to all times, places, and circumſtances. Lambin.

‖ The New Teſtament.

I ſhall not trouble you with recounting what adventures they met for the firſt ſeven years, any farther than by taking notice, that they carefully obſerved their father's will, and kept their coats in very good order; that they travelled thro' ſeveral countries, encountered a reaſonable quantity of giants, and ſlew certain dragons.

Being now arrived at the proper age for producing themſelves, they came up to town. and fell in love with the Ladies; but eſpecially three, who about that time were in chief reputation; the † Ducheſs *d'Argent*, *Madame de Grands Titres*, and the Counteſs *d'Orgueil*. On their firſt appearance, our three adventurers met with a very bad reception; and ſoon with great ſagacity gueſſing out the reaſon, they quickly began to improve in the good qualities of the town. They writ, and rallied, and rhymed, and ſung, and ſaid, and ſaid nothing; they drank, and fought, and whored, and ſlept, and ſwore, and took ſnuff; they went to new plays on the firſt night, haunted the *chocolate* houſes, beat the watch, lay on bulks, and got claps; they bilked hackney-coachmen, ran in debt with ſhop-keepers, and lay with their wives; they killed bailiffs, kicked fidlers down ſtairs, ate at *Locket*'s, loitered at *Will*'s; they talked of the drawing-room, and never came there; dined with Lords they never ſaw; whiſpered a Ducheſs, and ſpoke never a word: expoſed the ſcrawls of their laundreſs for billet-doux of quality; came ever juſt from court, and were never ſeen in it; attended the levee *ſub dio*; got a liſt of peers by heart in one company, and with great familiarity retaled them in another. Above all, they conſtantly attended thoſe committees of ſenators who are ſilent in the *houſe*, and loud in the *coffee-houſe*; where they nightly adjourn to chew the cud of politics, and are incompaſſed with a ring of diſciples, who lie in wait to catch

† Their miſtreſſes are the *Ducheſs d'Argent*, *Mademoiſelle de Grands Titres*, and the *Counteſs d'Orgueil*, i. e. *covetouſneſs*, *ambition*, and *pride*; which were the three great vices that the ancient fathers inveighed againſt, as the firſt corruptions of Chriſtianity. W. Wotton.

catch up their droppings. The three brothers had acquired forty other qualifications of the like ſtamp, too tedious to recount; and, by conſequence, were juſtly reckoned the moſt accompliſhed perſons in the town. But all would not ſuffice, and the Ladies aforeſaid continued ſtill inflexible. To clear up which difficulty, I muſt, with the reader's good leave and patience, have recourſe to ſome points of weight, which the authors of that age have not ſufficiently illuſtrated.

For, † about this time it happened a ſect aroſe whoſe tenets obtained and ſpread very far, eſpecially in the *grand monde*, and among every body of good faſhion. They worſhipped a ſort of ‡ *idol*, who, as their doctrine delivered, did daily create men, by a kind of manufactory operation. This *idol* they placed in the higheſt parts of the houſe, on an altar erected about three foot. He was ſhewn in the poſture of a Perſian emperor, ſitting on a *ſuperficies*, with his legs interwoven under him. This god had a *gooſe* for his enſign; whence it is, that ſome learned men pretend to deduce his original from *Jupiter Capitolinus*. At his left hand, beneath the altar, *hell* ſeemed to open, and catch at the animals the *idol* was creating: to prevent which, certain of his prieſts hourly flung in pieces of the uninformed maſs or ſubſtance, and ſometimes whole limbs already enlivened; which that horrid gulph inſatiably ſwallowed, terrible to behold. The *gooſe* was alſo held a ſubaltern divinity, or *deus minorum gentium*; before whoſe ſhrine was ſacrificed that creature, whoſe hourly food is human gore, and who is in ſo great renown abroad, for being the delight and favourite of the ‖ *Ægyptian Cercopithecus*. Millions of theſe animals were cruelly ſlaughtered every day, to appeaſe the hunger of that conſuming deity. The chief *idol* was alſo worſhipped as the inventor of the *yard* and *needle*; whether as

† This is an occaſional ſatyr upon dreſs and faſhion, in order to introduce what follows.

‡ By this *idol* is meant taylor.

‖ The Ægyptians worſhipped a monkey, which animal is very fond of eating lice, ſtyled here creatures that feed on human gore.

as the god of ſeamen, or on account of certain other myſtical attributes, hath not been ſufficiently cleared.

THE worſhippers of this deity had alſo a ſyſtem of their belief, which ſeemed to turn upon the following fundamentals. They held the univerſe to be a large *ſuit of cloaths*, which *inveſts* every thing: that the earth is *inveſted* by the air, the air is *inveſted* by the ſtars, and the ſtars are *inveſted* by the *primum mobile*. Look on this glob of earth, you will find it to be a very compleat and faſhionable *dreſs*. What is that which ſome call *land*, but a fine coat faced with green? or the *ſea*, but a waiſtcoat of water-tabby? Proceed to the particular works of the creation, you will find how curious a *journeyman* nature hath been to trim up the *vegetable* beaux: obſerve how ſparkiſh a periwig adorns the head of a *beech*, and what a fine doublet of white ſattin is worn by the *birch*. To conclude from all, what is man himſelf but a *micro-coat**; or rather a compleat ſuit of cloaths, with all its trimmings? As to his body, there can be no diſpute. But examine even the acquirements of his mind, you will find them all contribute, in their order, towards furniſhing out an exact dreſs. To inſtance no more; is not religion a *cloak*; honeſty a *pair of ſhoes*, worn out in the dirt; ſelf-love a *ſurtout*; vanity a *ſhirt*; and conſcience a *pair of breeches*, which, tho' a cover for lewdneſs as well as naſtineſs, is eaſily ſlipt down for the ſervice of both?

THESE *poſtulata* being admitted, it will follow in due courſe of reaſoning, that thoſe beings which the world calls improperly *ſuits of cloaths*, are in reality the moſt refined ſpecies of animals; or, to proceed higher, that they are rational creatures, or men. For is it not manifeſt, that they live, and move, and talk, and perform all other offices of human life? Are not beauty, and wit, and mien, and breeding, their inſeparable proprieties? In ſhort, we ſee nothing but them, hear nothing but them. Is it not they who walk the ſtreets, fill up *parliament*——, *coffee*——, *play*——, *bawdy-houſes*? 'Tis true

* Alluding to the word *microcoſm*, or a little world, as man hath been called by philoſophers.

true indeed, that these animals which are vulgarly called *suits of cloaths*, or *dresses*, do, according to certain compositions, receive different appellations. If one of them be trimmed up with a gold chain, and a red gown, and a white rod, and a great horse, it is called a *Lord Mayor*; if certain ermins and furs be placed in a certain position, we style them a *Judge*; and so, an apt conjunction of lawn and black sattin, we intitle a *Bishop*.

Others of these professors, tho' agreeing in the main system, were yet more refined upon certain branches of it; and held that man was an animal compounded of two *dresses*, the *natural*, and *celestial suit*; which were the body and the soul; that the soul was the outward, and the body the inward cloathing; that the latter was *ex traduce*, but the former of daily creation and circumfusion. This last they proved by Scripture; because *in them we live, and move, and have our being*; as likewise by philosophy; because they are *all in all, and all in every part*. Besides, said they, separate these two, and you will find the body to be only a senseless unsavoury carcass. By all which, it is manifest, that the outward dress must needs be the soul.

To this system of religion were tagged several subaltern * doctrines, which were entertained with great vogue; as, particularly, the faculties of the mind were deduced by the learned among them in this manner: *Embroidery* was *sheer wit*; *gold-fringe* was *agreeable conversation*; *gold-lace* was *repartee*; a huge long *periwig* was

* The first part of the *Tale* is the history of *Peter*; thereby *Popery* is exposed: every body knows the *Papists* have made great additions to Christianity; that indeed is the great exception which the church of *England* makes against them; accordingly *Peter* begins his pranks with adding a *shoulder-knot* to his coat.

W. Wotton.

His description of the cloth, of which the coat was made, has a farther meaning than the words may seem to import: "The "coats their father had left them were of very good cloth, and, "besides, so neatly sown, you would swear they were all of a "piece; but at the same time very plain, with little or no orna-"ment." This is the distinguishing character of the Christian religion: *Christiana religio absoluta et simplex*, was Ammianus Marcellinus's description of it, who was himself a heathen.

W. Wotton.

was *humour*; and a *coat full of powder* was very good *raillery*. All which required abundance of *fineſſe* and *delicateſſe* to manage with advantage, as well as a ſtrict obſervance after times and faſhions.

I have, with much pains and reading, collected out of antient authors this ſhort ſummary of a body of philoſophy and divinity; which ſeems to have been compoſed by a vein and race of thinking, very different from any other ſyſtems, either *antient* or *modern*. And it was not merely to entertain or ſatisfy the reader's curioſity, but rather to give him light into ſeveral circumſtances of the following ſtory; that, knowing the ſtate of diſpoſitions and opinions in an age ſo remote, he may better comprehend thoſe great events which were the iſſue of them. I adviſe therefore the courteous reader, to peruſe, with a world of application, again and again, whatever I have written upon this matter. And, leaving theſe broken ends, I carefully gather up the chief thread of my ſtory, and proceed.

These opinions therefore were ſo univerſal, as well as the practices of them, among the refined part of court and town, that our three brother-adventurers, as their circumſtances then ſtood, were ſtrangely at a loſs. For, on the one ſide, the three Ladies they addreſſed themſelves to, (whom we have named already) were ever at the very top of the faſhion, and abhorred all that were below it but the breadth of a hair. On the other ſide, their father's will was very preciſe; and it was the main precept in it, with the greateſt penalties annexed, not to add to, or diminiſh from their coats, one thread, without a poſitive command in the will. Now, the coats their father had left them, were, 'tis true, of very good cloth; and, beſides, ſo neatly ſown, you would ſwear they were all of a piece; but, at the ſame time, very plain, and with little or no ornament. And it happened, that, before they were a month in town, great *ſhoulder-knots* came up*: ſtraight all the world was *ſhoulder-knots*: no approaching

* By this is underſtood the firſt introducing of pageantry and unneceſſary ornaments in the church, ſuch as were neither for convenience nor edification, as a *ſhoulder-knot*, in which there is neither ſymmetry nor uſe.

proaching the ladies [illegible], without the [illegible] *knots*. "That fellow [illegible] "his shoulder-knot?" Our three brethren soon [illegible] vered their want by [illegible] walks with forty [illegible] went to the *play-[illegible]*, the door-keeper [illegible] the twelve-penny gallery [illegible] waterman, *I am [illegible]* to take a bottle, the [illegible] *no ale*: if they went [illegible] at the door, with *Pray*, [illegible] happy case, they went [illegible] ther's will; read it over and [illegible] *shoulder-knot*. What [illegible] should they find? Obedience [illegible] yet *shoulder-knots* appeared [illegible] much thought, one of the [illegible] be more *book-learned* than the [illegible] an expedient. "'Tis true [illegible] "in this will, *totidem* [illegible] "*der-knots*; but I dare [illegible] "*clusive*, or *totidem* [illegible] mediately approved by all; [illegible] examine. But their evil [illegible] matter, that the first syllable [illegible] whole writings. Upon which [illegible] found the former evasion took heart, and [illegible] "thers, there is yet hope; for, [illegible] "them *totidem verbis*, nor *totidem* [illegible] "we shall make them out [illegible]" This discovery was also highly commended; upon which they fell once more to the scrutiny, and picked out *S, H, O, U, L, D, E, R*; when the same planet, enemy to their repose, had wonderfully contrived, that a *K* was not to be found. Here was a weighty difficulty! but the distinguishing brother, (for whom we shall hereafter find a name) now his hand was in, proved, by a very good argument, that *K* was a modern illegitimate letter, unknown to the learned ages, nor any where to be found in antient manuscripts. "'Tis true (said he) the word

" *Calendæ* hath in † *Q. V. C.* been ſometimes written with " a *K*, but erroneouſly; for in the beſt copies it is ever " ſpelt with a *C*: and, by conſequence, it was a groſs " miſtake in our language, to ſpell *Knot* with a *K*; but " that from henceforward he would take care it ſhould be " written with a *C*." Upon this, all further difficulty vaniſhed; *ſhoulder-knots* were made clearly out to be *jure paterno*; and our three gentlemen ſwaggered with as large and as flaunting ones as the beſt.

BUT as human happineſs is of a very ſhort duration, ſo in thoſe days were human faſhions, upon which it intirely depends. *Shoulder-knots* had their time: and we muſt now imagine them in their decline: for a certain Lord came juſt from Paris with fifty yards of *gold-lace* upon his coat, exactly trimmed after the court-faſhion of that *month*. In two days, all mankind appeared cloſed up in bars of *gold-lace* ‡. Whoever durſt peep abroad without his complement of *gold-lace*, was as ſcandalous as a——, and as ill received among the women. What ſhould our three Knights do in this momentuous affair? They had ſufficiently ſtrained a point already, in the affair of *ſhoulder-knots*. Upon recourſe to the will, nothing appeared there but *altum ſilentium*. That of the *ſhoulder-knots* was a looſe, flying, circumſtantial point; but this of *gold-lace* ſeemed too conſiderable an alteration, without better warrant; it did *aliquo modo eſſentiæ adhærere*, and therefore required a poſitive precept. But about this time it fell out, that the learned brother aforeſaid had read *Ariſtotelis dialectica*; and eſpecially that wonderful piece *de interpretatione*, which has the faculty of teaching its readers to find out a meaning in every thing but itſelf; like commentators on the Revelations, who proceed prophets without underſtanding a ſyllable of the text. " Brothers, (ſaid he) You are to be informed, " that of wills *duo ſunt genera*‖, nuncupatory and ſcriptory.

† *Quibuſdam veteribus codicibus.* Some antient manuſcripts.

‡ I cannot tell whether the author means any new innovation by this word, or whether it be only to introduce the new methods of forcing and perverting Scripture.

‖ By this is meant *tradition*, allowed to have equal authority with the Scripture, or rather greater.

" ry. That in the ſcriptory will here before us, there is " no precept or mention about gold-lace, *conceditur:* but, " *ſi idem affirmetur de nuncupatorio, negatur.* For, bro- " thers, if you remember, we heard a fellow ſay, when " we were boys, that he heard my father's man ſay, that " he heard my father ſay, that he would adviſe his ſons " to get *gold-lace* on their coats, as ſoon as ever they " could procure money to buy it." " † By G— that is " very true,' cries the other; " I remember it perfectly " well," ſaid the third. And ſo, without more ado, they got the largeſt *gold-lace* in the pariſh, and walked about as fine as Lords.

A while after, there came up *all in faſhion*, a pretty ſort of *flame-coloured ſattin* * for linings; and the *Mercer* brought a pattern of it immediately to our three gentlemen. " An pleaſe your worſhips, (ſaid he) my Lord " C— and Sir J. W. had linings out of this very piece " laſt night. It takes wonderfully; and I ſhall not " have a remnant left, enough to make my wife a " pin-cuſhion, by to-morrow morning at ten o'clock." Upon this, they fell again to rummage the will, becauſe the preſent caſe alſo required a poſitive precept; the lining being held by orthodox writers to be of the eſſence

† When the Papiſts cannot find any thing which they want in Scripture, they go to *oral tradition:* thus *Peter* is introduced diſſatisfied with the tedious way of looking for all the letters of any word, which he has occaſion for in the *will:* when neither the conſtituent ſyllables, nor much leſs the whole word, were there *in terminis.* W. Wotton.

* This is Purgatory, whereof he ſpeaks more particularly hereafter; but here, only to ſhew how Scripture was perverted to prove it, which was done by giving equal authority with the *canon* to *Apocrypha*, called here a *codicil annexed.*

It is likely the author, in every one of theſe changes in the brothers dreſſes, refers to ſome particular error in the *church of Rome*, tho' it is not eaſy, I think, to apply them all: but by this of *flame-coloured ſattin*, is manifeſtly intended *purgatory*; by *gold-lace* may perhaps be underſtood, the lofty ornaments and plate in the churches; the *ſhoulder-knots* and *ſilver fringe* are not ſo obvious, at leaſt to me; but the *Indian figures* of men, women, and children, plainly relate to the pictures in the Romiſh churches, of God like an old man, of the virgin Mary, and our Saviour as a child.

of the coat. After long ſearch, they could fix upon nothing to the matter in hand, except a ſhort advice of their father in the will, to take care of *fire*, and put out their *candles* before they went to ſleep *. This, tho' a good deal for the purpoſe, and helping very far towards ſelf-conviction, yet not ſeeming wholly of force to eſtabliſh a command; (being reſolved to avoid farther ſcruple, as well as future occaſion for ſcandal) ſays he that was the ſcholar, "I remember to have read in wills, "of a codicil annexed; which is indeed a part of the "will; and what it contains hath equal authority with "the reſt. Now I have been conſidering of this ſame "will here before us; and I cannot reckon it to be com-"pleat, for want of ſuch a codicil I will therefore "faſten one in its proper place very dextrouſly. I "have had it by me ſome time. It was written by "a dog-keeper of my grandfather's †; and talks a great "deal, as good luck would have it, of this very flame-"coloured ſattin." The project was immediately approved by the other two; an old parchment ſcroll was tagged on according to art, in the form of a *codicil annexed*, and the *ſattin* bought and worn.

NEXT winter, a *player*, hired for the purpoſe by the corporation of *fringe-makers*, acted his part in a new comedy, all covered with *ſilver-fringe* ‖; and, according to the laudable cuſtom, gave riſe to that faſhion. Upon which, the brothers conſulting their father's will, to their great aſtoniſhment found theſe words: "*Item*, I charge "and command my ſaid three ſons, to wear no ſort of "*ſilver-fringe* upon or about their ſaid coats, *&c.*" with a penalty in caſe of diſobedience, too long here to inſert. However, after ſome pauſe, the brother ſo often mentioned for his erudition, who was well ſkilled in criticiſms, had found in a certain author, which, he ſaid, ſhould be nameleſs, that the ſame word, which in the will

* That is, to take care of Hell; and, in order to do that, to ſubdue and extinguiſh their luſts.

† I believe this refers to that part of the Apocrypha where mention is made of *Tobit* and his *dog*.

‖ This is certainly the farther introducing the pomps of habit and ornament.

will is called *fringe*, does alſo ſignify a *broom-ſtick* †; and doubtleſs ought to have the ſame interpretation in this paragraph. This another of the brothers diſliked, becauſe of that epithet *ſilver*; which could not, he humbly conceived, in propriety of ſpeech, be reaſonably applied to a *broom-ſtick*. But it was replied upon him, that this epithet was underſtood in a *mythological* and *allegorical* ſenſe. However, he objected again, why their father ſhould forbid them to wear a *broom-ſtick* on their coats; a caution that ſeemed unnatural and impertinent. Upon which he was taken up ſhort, as one that ſpoke irreverently of a *myſtery*; which doubtleſs was very uſeful and ſignificant, but ought not to be over-curiouſly pried into, or nicely reaſoned upon. And, in ſhort, their father's authority being now conſiderably ſunk, this expedient was allowed to ſerve as a lawful diſpenſation for wearing their full proportion of *ſilver-fringe*.

A while after was revived an old faſhion, long antiquated, of *embroidery* with *Indian figures* of men, women, and children ‖. Here they had no occaſion to examine the will. They remembered but too well, how their father had always abhorred this faſhion; that he made ſeveral paragraphs on purpoſe, importing his utter deteſtation of it, and beſtowing his everlaſting curſe to his ſons, whenever they ſhould wear it. For all this, in a few days, they appeared higher in the faſhion than any body elſe in the town. But they ſolved the matter, by ſaying, that theſe figures were not at all the *ſame* with thoſe that were formerly worn, and were meant in the will. Beſides, they did not wear them in the ſenſe as forbidden by their father; but as they were a commendable cuſtom, and of great uſe to the public. That theſe rigorous clauſes

† The next ſubject of our author's wit, is the gloſſes and interpretations of Scripture, very many abſurd ones of which are allowed in the moſt authentic books of the *church of Rome*.

W. Wotton.

‖ The images of ſaints, the bleſſed virgin, and our Saviour an infant.

Ibid. Images in the *church of Rome* give him but too fair a handle. *The brothers remembered*, &c. The allegory here is direct. W. Wotton.

in the will did therefore require ſome *allowance*, and a favourable interpretation, and ought to be underſtood *cum grano ſalis*.

BUT faſhions perpetually altering in that age, the ſcholaſtic brother grew weary of ſearching farther evaſions, and ſolving everlaſting contradictions. Reſolved therefore, at all hazards, to comply with the modes of the world, they concerted matters together, and agreed unanimouſly to lock up their father's will in a *ſtrong box* *, brought out of Greece or Italy, I have forgot which; and trouble themſelves no farther to examine it, but only refer to its authority whenever they thought fit. In conſequence whereof, a while after, it grew a general mode to wear an infinite number of *points*, moſt of them *tagged with ſilver*. Upon which the ſcholar pronounced *ex cathedra* †, that *points* were abſolutely *jure paterno*, as they might very well remember. It is true indeed, the faſhion preſcribed ſomewhat more than were directly named in the will; however, that they, as heirs general of their father, had power to make and add certain clauſes for public emolument, tho' not deducible, *totidem verbis*, from the letter of the will; or elſe *multa abſurda ſequerentur*. This was underſtood for *canonical*; and therefore on the following Sunday they came to church, all covered with *points*.

THE learned brother ſo often mentioned, was reckoned the beſt ſcholar in all that or the next ſtreet to it; inſomuch as, having run ſomething behind-hand in the world,

* The Papiſts formerly forbade the people the uſe of Scripture in a vulgar tongue: *Peter* therefore *locks up his father's will in a ſtrong box, brought out of Greece or Italy*. Theſe countries are named, becauſe the New Teſtament is written in Greek; and the *vulgar Latin*, which is the authentic edition of the Bible in the church of Rome, is in the language of old Italy. W. Wotton.

† The Popes, in their decretals and bulls, have given their ſanction to very many gainful doctrines, which are now received in the *church of Rome*, that are not mentioned in Scripture, and are unknown to the primitive church. *Peter* accordingly pronounces *ex cathedra*, That *points tagged with ſilver were abſolutely* jure paterno: and ſo they wore them in great numbers.

W. Wotton.

world, he obtained the favour of a *certain Lord* ‡, to receive him into his houſe, and to teach his children. A while after, the *Lord* died; and he, by long practice of his father's will, found the way of contriving a *deed of conveyance* of that houſe to himſelf and his heirs. Upon which he took poſſeſſion, turned the young ſquires out, and received his brothers in their ſtead ‖.

SECT. III.

A digreſſion concerning critics.

THOUGH I have been hitherto as cautious as I could, upon all occaſions, moſt nicely to follow the rules and methods of writing laid down by the example of our illuſtrious *moderns*; yet has the unhappy ſhortneſs of my memory led me into an error; from which I muſt extricate myſelf, before I can decently purſue my principal ſubject. I confeſs with ſhame, it was an unpardonable omiſſion to proceed ſo far as I have already done, before I had performed the due diſcourſes, expoſtulatory, ſupplicatory, or deprecatory, with my *good Lords* the *critics*. Towards ſome atonement for this grievous neglect, I do here make humbly bold to preſent them with a ſhort account of themſelves and their *art*, by looking into the original and pedigree of the word, as it is generally underſtood among us, and very briefly conſidering the antient and preſent ſtate thereof.

By

‡ This was Conſtantine the Great, from whom the Popes pretend a donation of St. Peter's patrimony, which they have been never able to produce.

‖ *Ibid.* The Biſhops of Rome enjoyed their privileges in Rome at firſt by the favour of Emperors, whom at laſt they ſhut out of their own capital city, and then forged a donation from Conſtantine the Great, the better to juſtify what they did. In imitation of this, *Peter*, "having run ſomething behind-hand in the world, obtained leave of a certain Lord, &c.". W. Wotton.

By the word *critic*, at this day ſo frequent in all converſations, there have ſometimes been diſtinguiſhed three very different ſpecies of mortal men, according as I have read in *antient books and pamphlets*. For, firſt, by this term was underſtood ſuch perſons as invented or drew up rules for themſelves and the world; by obſerving which a careful reader might be able to pronounce upon the productions of the *learned*, form his taſte to a true reliſh of the *ſublime* and the *admirable*, and divide every beauty of matter or of ſtyle from the corruption that apes it: in their common peruſal of books, ſingling out the errors and defects, the nauſeous, the fulſome, the dull, and the impertinent, with the caution of a man that walks thro' *Edinburgh* ſtreets in a morning; who is indeed as careful as he can, to watch diligently and ſpy out the filth in his way; not that he is curious to obſerve the colour and complexion of the ordure, or take its dimenſions, much leſs to be paddling in, or taſting it; but only with a deſign to come out as cleanly as he may. Theſe men ſeem, tho' very erroneouſly, to have underſtood the appellation of *critic* in a literal ſenſe; that one principal part of his office was to praiſe and acquit; and that a *critic* who ſets up to read only for an occaſion of cenſure and reproof, is a creature as barbarous as a *judge*, who ſhould take up a reſolution to hang all men that came before him upon a trial.

Again, by the word *critic*, have been meant the reſtorers of antient learning from the worms, and graves, and duſt of manuſcripts.

Now, the races of theſe two have been for ſome ages utterly extinct; and, beſides, to diſcourſe any farther of them would not be at all to my purpoſe.

The third and nobleſt ſort, is that of the *TRUE CRITIC*, whoſe original is the moſt antient of all. Every *true critic* is a hero born, deſcending in a direct line from a celeſtial ſtem, by Momus and Hybris, who begat Zoilus, who begat Tigellius, who begat Etcætera the elder, who begat Bentley, and Rymer, and Wotton, and Perrault, and Dennis, who begat Etcætera the younger.

And theſe are the *critics*, from whom the commonwealth of learning has in all ages received ſuch immenſe benefits,

benefits, that the gratitude of their admirers placed their origine in heaven, among those of Hercules, Theseus, Perseus, and other great deservers of mankind. But heroic virtue itself hath not been exempt from the obloquy of evil tongues. For it hath been objected, that those antient heroes, famous for their combating of many giants, and dragons, and robbers, were in their own persons a greater nuisance to mankind than any of those monsters they subdued; and therefore to render their obligations more compleat, when all other vermin were destroyed, should in conscience have concluded with the same justice upon themselves; as Hercules most generously did; and hath, upon that score, procured to himself more temples and votaries than the best of his fellows. For these reasons, I suppose, it is, why some have conceived, it would be very expedient for the public good of learning, that every *true critic*, as soon as he had finished his task assigned, should immediately deliver himself up to ratsbane or hemp, or from some convenient *altitude*; and that no man's pretensions to so illustrious a character should by any means be received, before that operation were performed.

Now, from this heavenly descent of *criticism*, and the close analogy it bears to *heroic virtue*, 'tis easy to assign the proper employment of a *true, antient, genuine critic*; which is, to travel thro' this vast world of writings; to pursue and hunt those monstrous faults bred within them; to drag out the lurking errors, like Cacus from his den; to multiply them like Hydra's heads, and rake them together like Augeas's dung; or else drive away a sort of *dangerous fowl*, who have a perverse inclination to plunder the best branches of the *tree of knowledge*; like those Stymphalian birds that eat up the fruit.

These reasonings will furnish us with an adequate definition of a true *critic*; that he is a *discoverer and collector of writers faults*: which may be farther put beyond dispute by the following demonstration: That whoever will examine the writings in all kinds, wherewith this antient sect has honoured the world, shall immediately find, from the whole thread and tenor of them, that the ideas of the authors have been altogether conversant and taken

taken up with the faults, and blemiſhes, and overſights, and miſtakes of other writers; and let the ſubject treated on be whatever it will, their imaginations are ſo entirely poſſeſſed and replete with the defects of other pens, that the very quinteſſence of what is bad does of neceſſity diſtill into their own; by which means, the whole appears to be nothing elſe but an *abſtract* of the *criticiſms* themſelves have made.

HAVING thus briefly conſidered the original and office of a *critic*, as the word is underſtood in its moſt noble and univerſal acceptation, I proceed to refute the objections of thoſe who argue from the ſilence and pretermiſſion of authors; by which they pretend to prove, that the very art of *criticiſm*, as now exerciſed, and by me explained, is wholly *modern*; and conſequently, that the *critics* of Great Britain and France, have no title to an original ſo antient and illuſtrious as I have deduced. Now, if I can clearly make out, on the contrary, that the moſt antient writers have particularly deſcribed both the perſon and the office of a *true critic*, agreeable to the definition laid down by me; their grand objection from the ſilence of authors will fall to the ground.

I confeſs to have for a long time born a part in this general error; from which I ſhould never have acquitted myſelf, but through the aſſiſtance of our noble *moderns*; whoſe moſt edifying volumes I turn indefatigably over night and day, for the improvement of my mind, and the good of my country. Theſe have with unwearied pains made many uſeful ſearches into the weak ſides of the *antients*, and given us a comprehenſive liſt of them †. Beſides, they have proved, beyond contradiction, that the very fineſt things delivered of old, have been long ſince invented, and brought to light by much later pens; and that the nobleſt diſcoveries thoſe *antients* ever made, of art or nature, have all been produced by the tranſcending genius of the preſent age: which clearly ſhews how little merit thoſe *antients* can juſtly pretend to; and takes off that blind admiration paid them by men in a corner, who have the unhappineſs of converſing too little with

† See Wotton of antient and modern learning.

with *present things*. Reflecting maturely upon all this, and taking in the whole compass of human nature, I easily concluded, that these *antients*, highly sensible of their many imperfections, must needs have endeavoured, from some passages in their works, to obviate, soften, or divert the censorious reader, by *satyr* or *panegyric* upon the *critics*, in imitation of their *masters* the *moderns*. Now, in the *common-places* of both these † I was plentifully instructed, by a long course of useful study in *prefaces* and *prologues*; and therefore immediately resolved to try what I could discover of either, by a diligent perusal of the most antient writers, and especially those who treated of the earliest times. Here I found, to my great surprize, that altho' they all entered, upon occasion, into particular descriptions of the *true critic*, according as they were governed by their fears or their hopes; yet whatever they touched of that kind, was with abundance of caution, adventuring no farther than *mythology* and *hieroglyphic*. This, I suppose, gave ground to superficial readers, for urging the silence of authors against the antiquity of the *true critic*; tho' the *types* are so apposite, and the applications so necessary and natural, that it is not easy to conceive, how any reader of a *modern eye* and *taste* could overlook them. I shall venture from a great number to produce a few, which I am very confident will put this question beyond dispute.

IT well deserves considering, that these *antient writers*, in treating enigmatically upon the subject, have generally fixed upon the very *same hieroglyph*; varying only the story according to their affections or their wit. For, first, Pausanias is of opinion, that the perfection of writing correct, was entirely owing to the institution of *critics*; and that he can possibly mean no other than the *true critic*, is, I think, manifest enough from the following description. He says, "They were a race of men, who "delighted to nimble at the superfluities and ex- "crescences of books; which the learned at length ob- "serving, took warning of their own accord, to lop *the* "luxuriant,

† Satyr, and panegyric upon critics.

" luxuriant, *the* rotten, *the* dead, *the* ſapleſs, *and the* over-" grown branches from their works." But now all this he cunningly ſhades under the following allegory: " That " the * Nauplians in Argoa learned the art of pruning " their vines, by obſerving, that when an *ASS* had " browſed upon one of them, it thrived the better, and " bore fairer fruit." But Herodotus †, holding the very ſame *hieroglyph*, ſpeaks much plainer, and almoſt *in terminis*. He hath been ſo bold as to tax the *true critics* of ignorance and malice; telling us openly; for I think nothing can be plainer; that " in *the* weſtern part of Libya " there were *ASSES* with *HORNS*." Upon which relation Cteſias ‡ yet refines, mentioning the very ſame animal about India, adding, " That whereas all other " *ASSES* wanted a *gall*, theſe horned ones were ſo re-" dundant in that part, that their fleſh was not to be " eaten becauſe of its extreme *bitterneſs*."

Now, the reaſon why thoſe antient writers treated this ſubject only by types and figures, was, becauſe they durſt not make open attacks againſt a party ſo potent and terrible, as the *critics* of thoſe ages were; whoſe very voice was ſo dreadful, that a legion of authors would tremble, and drop their pens at the ſound: for ſo Herodotus tells us expreſsly in another place ‖, how " a vaſt " army of Scythians was put to flight in a panic terror, " by the braying of an *ASS*." From hence it is conjectured by certain profound *philologers*, that the great awe and reverence paid to a *true critic* by the writers of Britain, have been derived to us from thoſe our Scythian anceſtors. In ſhort, this dread was ſo univerſal, that, in proceſs of time, thoſe authors who had a mind to publiſh their ſentiments more freely, in deſcribing the *true critics* of their ſeveral ages, were forced to leave off the uſe of the former *hieroglyph*, as too nearly approaching the *prototype*, and invented other terms inſtead thereof, that were more cautious and myſtical. So Diodorus ††, ſpeaking

* Lib.—— † Lib. 4.
‡ Vide *excerpta ex eo apud Photium.*
‖ Lib. 4. †† Lib.

ing to the ſame purpoſe, ventures no farther than to ſay, that "in the mountains of Helicon there grows a cer-"tain *weed*, which bears a flower of ſo damned a ſcent, "as to poiſon thoſe who offer to ſmell it." Lucretius gives exactly the ſame relation:

Eſt etiam in magnis Heliconis montibus arbos,
Floris odore hominem tetro conſueta necare †. Lib. 6.

BUT Cteſias, whom we lately quoted, hath been a great deal bolder. He had been uſed with much ſeverity by the *true critics* of his own age, and therefore could not forbear to leave behind him at leaſt one deep mark of his vengeance againſt the whole tribe. His meaning is ſo near the ſurface, that I wonder how it poſſibly came to be overlooked by thoſe who deny the antiquity of the *true critics*. For, pretending to make a deſcription of many ſtrange animals about India, he hath ſet down theſe remarkable words. "Amongſt the reſt, (ſays he,) "there is a *ſerpent* that wants *teeth*, and conſequently "cannot bite; but if its *vomit* (to which it is much ad-"dicted) happens to fall upon any thing, a certain rot-"tenneſs or corruption enſues. Theſe *ſerpents* are general-"ly found among the mountains where *jewels* grow; and "they frequently emit a *poiſonous juice*; whereof whoever "drinks, that perſon's *brains* fly out of his noſtrils."

THERE was alſo among the *antients* a ſort of *critics*, not diſtinguiſhed in *ſpecie* from the former, but in growth or degree, who ſeem to have been only the *tyro's* or *junior* ſcholars; yet, becauſe of their differing employments, they are frequently mentioned as a ſect by themſelves. The uſual exerciſe of theſe younger ſtudents, was, to attend conſtantly at theatres, and learn to ſpy out the *worſt parts* of the play; whereof they were obliged carefully to take note, and render a rational account to their tutors. Fleſhed at theſe ſmaller ſports, like young wolves, they grew up in time to be nimble and ſtrong enough for

† Near Helicon, and round the learned hill,
Grow trees, whoſe bloſſoms with their odour kill.

hunting down large game. For it hath been obſerved both among antients and moderns, that a *true critic* hath one quality in common with a *whore* and an *alderman*, never to change his title or his nature; that a *grey critic* has been certainly a *green* one, the perfections and acquirements of his age being only the improved talents of his youth; like *hemp*, which ſome naturaliſts inform us, is bad for *ſuffocations*, tho' taken but in the ſeed. I eſteem the invention, or at leaſt the refinement of *prologues*, to have been owing to theſe younger proficients, of whom Terence makes frequent and honourable mention, under the name of *malevoli*.

Now, it is certain, the inſtitution of the *true critics* was of abſolute neceſſity to the commonwealth of learning. For all human actions ſeem to be divided like Themiſtocles and his company: one man can *fiddle*, and another can make *a ſmall town a great city*; and he that cannot do either one or the other, deſerves to be kicked out of the creation. The avoiding of which penalty, has doubtleſs given the firſt birth to the nation of *critics*; and withal, an occaſion for their ſecret detractors to report, that a *true critic* is a ſort of mechanic, ſet up with a ſtock and tools for his trade, at as little expence as a *taylor*; and that there is much analogy between the utenſils and abilities of both; that the *taylor's bell* is the type of a *critic's common-place book*, and his wit and learning held forth by the *gooſe*; that it requires at leaſt as many of theſe to the making up of one ſcholar, as of the others to the compoſition of a man; that the valour of both is equal, and their *weapons* near of a ſize. Much may be ſaid in anſwer to theſe invidious reflections; and I can poſitively affirm the firſt to be a falſhood: for, on the contrary, nothing is more certain, than that it requires greater layings out, to be free of the *critic*'s company, than of any other you can name. For, as to be a *true beggar*, it will coſt the richeſt candidate every groat he is worth; ſo, before one can commence a *true critic*, it will coſt a man all the good qualities of his mind; which, perhaps, for a leſs purchaſe, would be thought but an indifferent bargain.

HAVING

HAVING thus amply proved the antiquity of *criticism*, and described the primitive state of it; I shall now examine the present condition of this empire, and shew how well it agrees with its antient self †. A certain author, whose works have many ages since been entirely lost, does, in his fifth book and eight chapter, say of *critics*, that "their writings are the mirrors of learning." This I understand in a literal sense; and suppose our author must mean, that whoever designs to be a perfect writer, must inspect into the books of *critics*, and correct his invention there as in a mirror. Now, whoever considers, that the *mirrors* of the antients were made of *brass*, and *fine mercurio*, may presently apply the two principal qualifications of a *true modern critic*; and, consequently, must needs conclude, that these have always been, and must be for ever the same. For *brass* is an emblem of duration; and when it is skilfully burnished, will cast *reflections* from its own *superficies*, without any assistance of *mercury* from behind. All the other talents of a *critic* will not require a particular mention, being included, or easily reducible to these. However, I shall conclude with three maxims, which may serve both as characteristics to distinguish a *true modern critic* from a pretender, and will be also of admirable use to those worthy spirits who engage in so useful and honourable an art.

THE first is, That *criticism*, contrary to all other faculties of the intellect, is ever held the truest and best, when it is the very *first* result of the *critic*'s mind: as fowlers reckon the first aim for the surest, and seldom fail of missing the mark, if they stay for a second.

SECONDLY, The *true critics* are known by their talent of swarming about the noblest writers; to which they are carried merely by instinct, as a rat to the best cheese, or a wasp to the fairest fruit. So when the *King* is on horseback, he is sure to be the *dirtiest* person of the company; and they that make their court best, are such as *bespatter* him most.

† A quotation after the manner of a great author. Vide Bentley's Dissertation, &c.

LASTLY, A *true critic*, in the peruſal of a book, is like a *dog* at a feaſt, whoſe thoughts and ſtomach are wholly ſet upon what the gueſts *fling away*; and conſequently is apt to *ſnarl* moſt when there are the feweſt *bones*.

THUS much, I think, is ſufficient to ſerve by way of addreſs to my patrons, the *true modern critics*; and may very well atone for my paſt ſilence, as well as that which I am like to obſerve for the future. I hope I have deſerved ſo well of their whole *body*, as to meet with generous and tender uſage at their *hands*. Supported by which expectation, I go on boldly to purſue thoſe adventures already ſo happily begun.

SECT. IV.

A TALE of a TUB.

I HAVE now, with much pains and ſtudy, conducted the reader to a period, where he muſt expect to hear of great revolutions. For no ſooner had our *learned brother*, ſo often mentioned, got a warm houſe of his own over his head, than he began to look big, and take mightily upon him; inſomuch that, unleſs the gentle reader, out of his great candour, will pleaſe a little to exalt his idea, I am afraid he will henceforth hardly know the *hero* of the play, when he happens to meet him; his part, his dreſs, and his mien being ſo much altered.

HE told his brothers, he would have them to know that he was their elder, and conſequently his father's ſole heir: nay, a while after, he would not allow them to call him *brother*, but *Mr. PETER*; and then he muſt be ſtyled *Father PETER*; and ſometimes, *My Lord PETER*. To ſupport this grandeur, which he ſoon began to conſider could not be maintained without a better *fonde* than what he was born to; after much thought, he caſt about at laſt to turn *projector* and *virtuoſo*; wherein he ſo well ſucceeded, that many famous diſcoveries, projects, and machines, which bear great vogue and practice at preſent

preſent in the world, are owing entirely to *Lord PETER's* invention. I will deduce the beſt account I have been able to collect of the chief amongſt them, without conſidering much the order they came out in; becauſe, I think, authors are not well agreed as to that point.

I hope, when this treatiſe of mine ſhall be tranſlated into foreign languages, (as I may without vanity affirm, that the labour of collecting, the faithfulneſs in recounting, and the great uſefulneſs of the matter to the public, will amply deſerve that juſtice,) that the worthy members of the ſeveral *academies* abroad, eſpecially thoſe of France and Italy, will favourably accept theſe humble offers for the advancement of univerſal knowledge. I do alſo advertiſe the moſt reverend fathers, the *eaſtern* miſſionaries, that I have purely for their ſakes made uſe of ſuch words and phraſes, as will beſt admit an eaſy turn into any of the *oriental* languages, eſpecially the *Chineſe*. And ſo I proceed with great content of mind, upon reflecting how much emolument this whole globe of earth is like to reap by my labours.

THE firſt undertaking of Lord *Peter* was, to purchaſe a large continent†, lately ſaid to have been diſcovered in *Terra Auſtralis incognita*. This tract of land he bought at a very great penny-worth from the diſcoverers themſelves (tho' ſome pretended to doubt whether they had ever been there); and then retaled it into ſeveral cantons to certain dealers, who carried over colonies, but were all ſhipwrecked in the voyage. Upon which Lord *Peter* ſold the ſaid continent to other cuſtomers *again*, and *again*, and *again*, and *again*, with the ſame ſucceſs.

THE ſecond project I ſhall mention, was his ſovereign remedy for the *worms*‡, eſpecially thoſe in the *ſpleen*||.

† That is Purgatory.

‡ *Penance* and *abſolution* are plaid upon under the notion of a *ſovereign remedy for the worms*, eſpecially in the ſpleen, which, by obſerving *Peter's* preſcription, would void inſenſibly by perſpiration aſcending thro' the brain, *&c.* W. Wotton.

|| Here the author ridicules the penances of the church of Rome, which may be made as eaſy to the ſinner as he pleaſes, provided he will pay for them accordingly.

The patient was to eat nothing after ſupper for three nights. As ſoon as he went to bed, he was carefully to lie on one ſide; and when he grew weary, to turn upon the other. He muſt alſo duly confine his two eyes to the ſame object; and by no means break wind at both ends together, without manifeſt occaſion. Theſe preſcriptions diligently obſerved, the *worms* would void inſenſibly by perſpiration, aſcending thro' the *brain*.

A third invention was, the erecting of a *whiſpering-office* ‡, for the public good and eaſe of all ſuch as are hypochondriacal, or troubled with the cholic; as likewiſe of all eves droppers, phyſicians, midwives, ſmall politicians, friends fallen out, repeating poets, lovers happy or in deſpair, bawds, privy-counſellors, pages, paraſites, and buffoons; in ſhort, of all ſuch as are in danger of burſting with too much *wind*. An *aſs*'s head was placed ſo conveniently, that the party affected might eaſily with his mouth accoſt either of the animal's ears; which he was to apply cloſe for a certain ſpace, and. by a fugitive faculty, peculiar to the ears of that animal, receive immediate benefit, either by eructation, or expiration, or evomitation.

Another very beneficial project of Lord *Peter*'s was an *office of inſurance* ||, for tobacco-pipes, martyrs of the modern zeal, volumes of poetry, ſhadows,———— and rivers; that theſe, nor any of theſe, ſhall receive damage by *fire*. From whence our *friendly ſocieties* may plainly find themſelves to be only tranſcribers from this original; tho' the one and the other have been of *great* benefit to the undertakers, as well as of *equal* to the public.

Lord *Peter* was alſo held the original author of *puppets* and *raree-ſhows* †; the great uſefulneſs whereof being ſo generally

‡ By his *whiſpering-office*, for the relief of eves-droppers, phyſicians, bawds, and privy-counſellors, he ridicules aurical confeſſion; and the prieſt who takes it, is deſcribed by the aſs's head. W. Wotton.

|| This I take to be the office of *indulgences*, the groſs abuſes whereof firſt gave occaſion for the Reformation.

† I believe are the monkeries, and ridiculous proceſſions, &c. among the Papiſts.

generally known, I shall not enlarge farther upon this particular.

But another discovery for which he was much renowned, was his famous universal † *pickle*. For having remarked how your ‡ common *pickle*, in use among housewives, was of no farther benefit than to preserve dead flesh, and certain kinds of vegetables; *Peter*, with great cost, as well as art, had contrived a *pickle* proper for houses, gardens, towns, men, women, children, and cattle; wherein he could preserve them as sound as insects in amber. Now, this *pickle* to the taste, the smell, and the sight, appeared exactly the same with what is in common service for beef, and butter, and herrings, and has been often that way applied with great success; but, for its many sovereign virtues, was a quite different thing. For *Peter* would put in a certain quantity of his ‖ *powder pimperlimpimp*, after which it never failed of success. The operation was performed by § *spargefaction* in a proper time of the moon. The patient who was to be *pickled*, if it were a house, would infallibly be preserved from all spiders, rats, and weazels; if the party affected were a dog, he should be exempt from mange, and madness, and hunger. It also infallibly took away all scabs and lice, and scall'd heads from children; never hindering the patient from any duty, either at bed or board.

But of all *Peter*'s rarities, he most valued a certain set of ‡‡ *bulls*, whose race was by great fortune preserved in

† Holy water he calls an *universal pickle*, to preserve houses, gardens, towns, men, women, children, and cattle, wherein he could preserve them as sound as insects in amber. W. Wotton.

‡ This is easily understood to be holy water, composed of the same ingredients with many other pickles.

‖ And because holy water differs only in consecration from common water, therefore he tells us, that his pickle by the powder of *pimperlimpimp* receives new virtues, tho' it differs not in sight nor smell from the common pickles, which preserve beef, and butter, and herrings. W. Wotton.

§ *Sprinkling*.

‡‡ The Papal *bulls* are ridiculed by name, so that here we are at no loss for the author's meaning. W. Wotton.

Bull.

in a lineal deſcent from thoſe that guarded the *golden fleece*: tho' ſome who pretended to obſerve them curiouſly, doubted the breed had not been kept entirely chaſte; becauſe they had degenerated from their anceſtors in ſome qualities, and had acquired others very extraordinary, but a foreign mixture. The *bulls* of Colchis are recorded to have *brazen feet*. But, whether it happened by ill paſture and running, by an allay from intervention of other parents, from ſtolen intrigues; whether a weakneſs in their progenitors had impaired the ſeminal virtue, or by a decline neceſſary thro' a long courſe of time, the originals of nature being depraved in theſe latter ſinful ages of the world: whatever was the cauſe, 'tis certain that Lord *Peter's bulls* were extremely vitiated by the ruſt of time in the metal of their feet, which was now ſunk into common *lead*. However, the terrible *roaring* peculiar to their lineage was preſerved; as likewiſe that faculty of breathing out *fire* from their noſtrils; which, notwithſtanding, many of their detractors took to be a feat of art, and to be nothing ſo terrible as it appeared, proceeding only from their uſual courſe of diet, which was of ‡ *ſquibs* and *crackers*. However, they had two peculiar marks which extremely diſtinguiſhed them from the *bulls* of Jaſon, and which I have not met together in the deſcription of any other monſter, beſide that in Horace:

Varias inducere plumas;

and

Atrum deſinit in piſcem.

For theſe had *fiſhes tails*; yet, upon occaſion, could *outfly* any bird in the air. *Peter* put theſe *bulls* upon ſeveral employs. Sometimes he would ſet them a *roaring*, to fright

Ibid. Here the author has kept the name, and means the *Pope's bulls*, or rather his fulminations, and excommunications of heretical Princes, all ſigned with lead and the ſeal of the fiſherman; and therefore ſaid to have *leaden feet* and *fiſhes tails*.

‡ Theſe are the fulminations of the Pope, threatening hell and damnation to thoſe Princes who offend him.

fright ‖ *naughty boys*, and make them quiet. Sometimes he would ſend them out upon errands of great importance; where it is wonderful to recount, and perhaps the cautious reader may think much to believe it, an *appetitus ſenſibilis*, deriving itſelf thro' the whole family, from their noble anceſtors, guardians of the *golden fleece*; they continued ſo extremely fond of *gold*, that, if *Peter* ſent them abroad, tho' it were only upon a compliment, they would *roar*, and *ſpit*, and *belch*, and *piſs*, and *fart*, and *ſnivel* out *fire*, and keep a perpetual coil, till you flung them a bit of gold; but then, *pulveris exigui jactu*, they would grow calm and quiet as lambs. In ſhort, whether by ſecret connivance, or encouragement from their maſter, or out of their own liquoriſh affection to gold, or both, it is certain, they were no better than a ſort of ſturdy, ſwaggering beggars; and, where they could not prevail to get an alms, would make women miſcarry, and children fall into fits; who, to this very day, uſually call ſpirits and hobgoblins by the name of *bull-beggars*. They grew at laſt ſo very troubleſome to the neighbourhood, that ſome Gentlemen of the *North-weſt* got a parcel of right *Engliſh bull-dogs*, and baited them ſo terribly, that they felt it ever after.

I muſt needs mention one more of *Lord Peter*'s projects, which was very extraordinary, and diſcovered him to be maſter of a high reach and profound invention. Whenever it happened that any rogue of Newgate was condemned to be hanged, *Peter* would offer him a pardon for a certain ſum of money; which when the poor caitiff had made all ſhifts to ſcrape up and ſend, *his Lordſhip* would return a piece of paper in this form ‡:

"TO all Mayors, Sheriffs, Jailors, Conſtables, "Bailiffs, Hangmen, *&c.* Whereas we are in- "formed that *A. B.* remains in the hands of you, or a- "ny of you, under the ſentence of death; we will and "command

‖ That is, Kings who incurred his diſpleaſure.

‡ This is a general pardon, ſigned *ſervus ſervorum*. *Bish.* Abſolution *in articulo mortis*, and the tax *cameræ apoſtolicæ*, are jeſted upon in Emperor *Peter*'s letter. W. Wotton.

" command you, upon ſight hereof, to let the ſaid pri-
" ſoner depart to his own habitation, whether he ſtands
" condemned for murder, ſodomy, rape, ſacrilege, in-
" ceſt, treaſon, blaſphemy, &c.; for which this ſhall
" be your ſufficient warrant. And, if you fail hereof,
" G—d—mn you and yours to all eternity. And ſo we
" bid you heartily farewel.

Your moſt humble

man's man,

EMPEROR PETER."

THE wretches truſting to this, loſt their lives and money too.

I deſire of thoſe whom the *learned* among poſterity will appoint for commentators upon this elaborate treatiſe, that they will proceed with great caution upon certain dark points, wherein all who are not *verè adepti*, may be in danger to form raſh and haſty concluſions; eſpecially in ſome myſterious paragraphs, where certain *arcana* are joined for brevity's ſake, which in the operation muſt be divided. And I am certain, that future ſons of art will return large thanks to my memory, for ſo grateful, ſo uſeful an *innuendo*.

IT will be no difficult part to perſuade the reader, that ſo many worthy diſcoveries met with great ſucceſs in the world; tho' I may juſtly aſſure him, that I have related much the ſmalleſt number; my deſign having been only to ſingle out ſuch as will be of moſt benefit for public imitation, or which beſt ſerved to give ſome idea of the reach and wit of the inventor. And therefore it need not be wondered, if by this time Lord *Peter* was become exceeding rich. But alas! he had kept his brain ſo long and ſo violently upon the rack, that at laſt it *ſhook* itſelf, and began to *turn round* for a little eaſe. In ſhort, what with pride, projects, and knavery, poor *Peter* was grown diſtracted, and conceived the ſtrangeſt imaginations in the world. In the height of his fits, (as it is uſual with thoſe who run mad out of pride) he would call himſelf

himſelf *God Almighty* *, and ſometimes *Monarch of the Univerſe*. I have ſeen him (ſays my author) take three old *high-crown'd hats* †, and clap them all on his head, three ſtory high, with a huge bunch of *keys* at his girdle ‡, and an *angling-rod* in his hand. In which guiſe, whoever went to take him by the hand, in the way of ſalutation, *Peter*, with much grace, like a well-educated ſpaniel, would preſent them with his *foot* ||; and if they refuſed his civility, then he would raiſe it as high as their chops, and give them a damn'd kick in the mouth: which hath ever ſince been called *a ſalute*. Whoever walked by, without paying him their compliments, having a wonderful ſtrong breath, he would blow their hats off into the dirt. Mean time his affairs at home went upſide down, and his two brothers had a wretched time; where his firſt *boutade* ** was, to kick both their *wives* one morning out of doors, and his own too ††; and, in their ſtead, gave orders to pick up the firſt three ſtrollers could be met with in the ſtreets. A while after, he nailed up the cellar-door; and would not allow his brothers a drop of *drink* to their victuals |||. Dining one day at an Alderman's in the city, *Peter* obſerved him expatiating after the manner of his brethren, in the praiſes of his ſirloin of

* The Pope is not only allowed to be the Vicar of Chriſt, but by ſeveral Divines is called *God upon earth*; and other blaſphemous *titles* are given him.

† The triple crown.

‡ The keys of the church. The church is here taken for the gate of Heaven; for the keys of Heaven are aſſumed by the Pope in conſequence of what our Lord ſaid to *Peter*. "I will give "unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven."

Ibid. The Pope's univerſal monarchy, and his triple crown, and fiſher's ring. W. Wotton.

|| Neither does his arrogant way of requiring men to kiſs his ſlipper eſcape reflexion. W. Wotton.

** This word properly ſignifies a ſudden jerk, or laſh of an horſe, when you do not expect it.

†† The *celibacy of the Romiſh clergy* is ſtruck at in *Peter*'s beating his own and his brothers wives out of doors. W. Wotton.

||| The Pope's refuſing the cup to the laity, perſuading them that the blood is contained in the bread, and that the bread is the real and entire body of Chriſt.

of beef. " Beef, *ſaid the ſage magiſtrate*, is the king of " meat: Beef comprehends in it the quinteſſence of " partridge, and quail, and veniſon, and pheaſant, and " plum-pudding, and cuſtard." When *Peter* came home, he would needs take the fancy of cooking up this doctrine into uſe, and apply the precept, in default of a ſirloin, to his brown loaf. " Bread, *ſays he*, dear " brothers, is the ſtaff of life; in which bread is con- " tained, *incluſivè*, the quinteſſence of beef, mutton, " veal, veniſon, partridge, plum-pudding, and cuſtard: " and to render all compleat, there is intermingled a due " quantity of water, whoſe crudities are alſo corrected " by yeaſt or barm; thro' which means it becomes a " wholeſome fermented liquor diffuſed thro' the *maſs* of " the bread." Upon the ſtrength of theſe concluſions, next day at dinner was the brown loaf ſerved up in all the formalities of a city-feaſt. " Come, brothers, (ſaid " *Peter*) fall to, and ſpare not; here is excellent good " mutton ‡: or hold, now my hand is in, I'll help you." At which word, in much ceremony, with fork and knife, he carves out two good ſlices of a loaf, and preſents each on a plate to his brothers. The elder of the two, not ſuddenly entering into Lord *Peter*'s conceit, began with very civil language to examine the myſtery. " My Lord, *ſaid he*, " I doubt, with great ſubmiſſion, there may be ſome " miſtake." " What, *ſays Peter*, you are pleaſant; " come then, let us hear this jeſt your head is ſo big " with." " None in the world, my Lord; but unleſs I " am very much deceived, your Lordſhip was pleaſed, a " while ago, to let fall a word about mutton, and I " would be glad to ſee it with all my heart." " How, " *ſaid* Peter, *appearing in great ſurpriſe*, I do not com- " prehend this at all."———Upon which the younger interpoſing to ſet the buſineſs aright; " My Lord, *ſaid* " *he*, my brother, I ſuppoſe, is hungry, and longs for " the mutton your Lordſhip hath promiſed us to dinner."

" Pray,

‡ *Tranſubſtantiation. Peter* turns his bread into mutton, and, according to the Popiſh doctrine of concomitants, his wine too, which in his way he calls *palming his damned cruſts upon the brothers for mutton.* W. Wotton.

" Pray, *ſaid Peter*, take me along with you; either you " are both mad, or diſpoſed to be merrier than I ap- " prove of. If *you* there do not like your piece, I will " carve you another, tho' I ſhould take that to be the " choice bit of the whole ſhoulder." What then, my " Lord, *replied the firſt*, it ſeems this is a ſhoulder of " mutton all this while." " Pray, Sir, *ſays Peter*, eat " your victuals, and leave off your impertinence, if you " pleaſe; for I am not diſpoſed to reliſh it at preſent." But the other could not forbear being over-provoked at the affected ſeriouſneſs of *Peter*'s countenance. " By " G—, my Lord, *ſaid he*, I can only ſay, that to my " eyes, and fingers, and teeth. and noſe, it ſeems to be " nothing but a cruſt of bread." Upon which the ſecond put in his word: " I never ſaw a piece of mutton in " my life ſo nearly reſembling a ſlice from a twelve- " penny loaf." " Look ye, Gentlemen, *cries* Peter *in " a rage*, to convince you what a couple of blind, poſi- " tive, ignorant, wilful puppies you are, I will uſe but " this plain argument: By G—, it is true, good, na- " tural mutton as any in *Leaden-hall* market; and G— " confound you both eternally, if you offer to believe " otherways." Such a thundering proof as this, left no further room for objection. The two unbelievers began to gather and pocket up their miſtake as haſtily as they could. " Why, truly, *ſaid the firſt*, upon more mature " conſideration"——" Ay, *ſays the other, interrupting " him*, now I have thought better on the thing, your " Lordſhip ſeems to have a great deal of reaſon." " Very well, *ſaid Peter*. Here, boy, fill me a beer- " glaſs of claret; here's to you both with all my heart." The two brethren, much delighted to ſee him ſo readily appeaſed, returned their moſt humble thanks, and ſaid, they would be glad to pledge his Lordſhip. " That you " ſhall, *ſaid Peter*, I am not a perſon to refuſe you any " thing that is reaſonable. Wine moderately taken is " a cordial. Here is a glaſs a-piece for you. It is true " natural juice from the grape, none of your damned " *vintners* brewings." Having ſpoke thus, he preſented to each of them another large dry cruſt, bidding them drink it off, and not be baſhful; for it would do them

no hurt. The two brothers, after having performed the uſual office, in ſuch delicate conjunctures, of ſtaring a ſufficient period at *Lord Peter*, and each other; and finding how matters were like to go, reſolved not to enter on a new diſpute, but let him carry the point as he pleaſed: for he was now got into one of his mad fits; and to argue or expoſtulate further, would only ſerve to render him a hundred times more untractable.

I have choſen to relate this worthy matter in all its circumſtances; becauſe it gave a principal occaſion to that great and famous *rupture* *, which happened about the ſame time among theſe brethren, and was never afterwards made up. But of that I ſhall treat at large in another ſection.

HOWEVER, it is certain, that *Lord Peter*, even in his lucid intervals, was very lewdly given in his common converſation, extreme wilful and poſitive; and would at any time rather argue to the death, than allow himſelf to be once in an error. Beſides, he had an abominable faculty of telling huge palpable *lies* upon all occaſions; and not only ſwearing to the truth, but curſing the whole company to hell, if they pretended to make the leaſt ſcruple of believing him. One time he ſwore he had a *cow* at home, which gave as much milk at a meal as would fill three thouſand churches; and what was yet more extraordinary, would never turn ſour †. Another time he was telling of an old *ſign-poſt* ‡ that belonged to his *father*, with nails and timber enough in it to build ſixteen large men of war. Talking one day of Chineſe waggons, which were made ſo light as to ſail over mountains: "Z——ds, *ſaid Peter*, where's the wonder "of that? By G—, I ſaw a large houſe of lime and "ſtone travel over ſea and land (granting that it ſtopped "ſometimes to bait) above two thouſand German leagues."

* By this *rupture* is meant the Reformation.

† The ridiculous multiplying of the Virgin Mary's *milk* among the Papiſts, under the allegory of a *cow*, which gave as much milk at a meal as would fill three thouſand churches. W. Wotton.

‡ By this *ſign-poſt* is meant the *croſs* of our bleſſed Saviour; and if all the wood that is ſhown for parts of it was collected, the quantity would ſufficiently juſtify this ſarcaſm.

" leagues †." And that which was the good of it, he would ſwear deſperately all the while, that he never told a lie in his life: and at every word, " By G—, Gentle-" men, I tell you nothing but the truth; and the d—l " broil them eternally that will not believe me."

In ſhort *Peter* grew ſo ſcandalous, that all the neighbourhood began in plain words to ſay, he was no better than a knave. And his two brothers, long weary of his ill uſage, reſolved at laſt to leave him. But firſt they humbly deſired a copy of their father's *will*, which had now lain by neglected, time out of mind. Inſtead of granting this requeſt, he called them *damned ſops of whores, rogues, traitors*, and the reſt of the vile names he could muſter up. However, while he was abroad one day upon his projects, the two youngſters watched their opportunity, made a ſhift to come at the *will*, and took a *copia vera* ‖; by which they preſently ſaw how groſsly they had been abuſed; their father having left them equal heirs, and ſtrictly commanded, that whatever they got, ſhould lie in common among them all. Purſuant to which, their next enterprize was, to break open the cellar door, and get a little good *drink*, to ſpirit and comfort their hearts ‡. In copying the *will*, they had met another precept againſt whoring, divorce, and ſeparate maintenance: upon which their next work was, to diſcard their concubines, and ſend for their wives *. Whilſt all this was in agitation, there enters a ſolicitor from Newgate, deſiring *Lord Peter* would pleaſe to procure a *pardon* for a *thief* that was to be *hanged* to-morrow. But the two brothers told him, he was a coxcomb to ſeek

† The chapel of Loretto. He falls here only upon the ridiculous inventions of Popery: the church of Rome intended by theſe things to gull ſilly, ſuperſtitious people, and rook them of their money; the world had been too long in ſlavery, but our anceſtors glorioufly redeemed us from that yoke. The church of Rome therefore ought to be expoſed, and he deſerves well of mankind that does expoſe it. W. Wotton.

Ibid. The chapel of Loretto, which travelled from the Holy Land to Italy.

‖ Tranſlated the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues.

‡ Adminiſtered the cup to the laity at the communion.

* Allowed the marriages of Prieſts.

pardons from a fellow who deſerved to be hanged much better than his client; and diſcovered all the method of that impoſture, in the ſame form I delivered it a while ago; adviſing the ſolicitor to put his friend upon obtaining *a pardon from the King* ‖. In the midſt of all this clutter and revolution, in comes *Peter* with a file of dragoons at his heels †; and gathering from all hands what was in the wind, he and his gang, after ſeveral millions of ſcurrilities and curſes, not very important here to repeat, by main force very fairly kicks them both out of doors †, and would never let them come under his roof from that day to this.

SECT. V.

A digreſſion in the modern kind.

WE whom the world is pleaſed to honour with the title of *modern authors*, ſhould never have been able to compaſs our great deſign of an everlaſting remembrance, and never-dying fame, if our endeavours had not been ſo highly ſerviceable to the general good of mankind. This, O *univerſe*! is the adventurous attempt of me thy ſecretary.

——*Quemvis perferre laborem*
Suadet, & inducit noctes vigilare ſerenas.

To this end, I have ſome time ſince, with a world of pains and art, diſſected the carcaſs of *human nature*, and read many uſeful lectures upon the ſeveral parts, both *containing* and *contained*; till at laſt it *ſmelt* ſo ſtrong, I could preſerve it no longer. Upon which I have been at

‖ Directed penitents not to truſt to pardons and abſolutions procured for money; but ſent them to implore the mercy of God, from whence alone remiſſion is to be obtained.

† By *Peter*'s dragoons, is meant the civil power, which thoſe Princes who were bigotted to the Romiſh ſuperſtition employed againſt the Reformers.

† *The Pope* ſhuts all who diſſent from him out of the church.

at a great expence to fit up all the bones with exact contexture, and in due ſymmetry; ſo that I am ready to ſhew a very compleat anatomy thereof to all curious *gentlemen and others*. But not to digreſs farther in the midſt of a digreſſion, as I have known ſome authors incloſe digreſſions in one another, like a neſt of boxes; I do affirm, that, having carefully cut up *human nature*, I have found a very ſtrange, new, and important diſcovery; that the public good of mankind is performed by two ways, *inſtruction* and *diverſion*. And I have farther proved in my ſaid ſeveral readings, (which perhaps the world may one day ſee, if I can prevail on any friend to ſteal a copy, or on certain gentlemen of my admirers, to be very importunate,) that, as mankind is now diſpoſed, he receives much greater advantage by being *diverted* than *inſtructed*; his epidemical diſeaſes being *faſtidioſity*, *amorphy*, and *oſcitation*; whereas in the preſent univerſal empire of wit and learning, there ſeems but little matter left for *inſtruction*. However, in compliance with a leſſon of great age and authority, I have attempted carrying the point in all its heights; and accordingly, throughout this divine treatiſe, have ſkilfully kneaded up both together with a *layer* of *utile* and a *layer* of *dulce*.

When I conſider how exceedingly our illuſtrious *moderns* have eclipſed the weak glimmering lights of the *antients*, and turned them out of the road of all faſhionable commerce, to a degree, that our choice * town-wits, of moſt refined accompliſhments, are in grave diſpute, whether there have been ever any *antients* or no; in which point we are like to receive wonderful ſatisfaction from the moſt uſeful labours and lucubrations of that worthy *modern*, Dr. B—— tley: I ſay, when I conſider all this, I cannot but bewail, that no famous *modern* hath

* The learned perſon here meant by our author, hath been endavouring to annihilate ſo many antient writers, that, until he is pleaſed to ſtop his hand, it will be dangerous to affirm, whether there have been any antients in the world.

ever yet attempted an univerſal ſyſtem, in a ſmall portable volume, of all things that are to be known, or believed, or imagined, or practiſed in life. I am however forced to acknowledge, that ſuch an enterprize was thought on ſometime ago by a great philoſopher of O. Brazil *. The method he propoſed was, by a certain curious *receipt*, a *noſtrum*, which, after his untimely death, I found among his papers; and do here, out of my great affection to the *modern learned*, preſent them with it; not doubting it may one day encourage ſome worthy undertaker.

"You take fair correct copies, well bound in calf-"ſkin, and lettered at the back, of all modern bodies "of arts and ſciences whatſoever, and in what lan-"guage you pleaſe. Theſe you diſtil *in balneo Mariæ*, in-"fuſing *quinteſſence of poppy q. ſ.* together with three "pints of *lethe*, to be had from the apothecaries. You "cleanſe away carefully the *ſordes* and *caput mortuum*, "letting all that is volatile evaporate. You preſerve "only the firſt running, which is again to be diſtilled "ſeventeen times, till what remains will amount to a-"bout two drams. This you keep in a glaſs-vial *her-"metically* ſealed, for one and twenty days: then you "begin your catholic treatiſe, taking every morning faſt-"ing (firſt ſhaking the vial) three drops of this *elixir*, "ſnuffing it ſtrongly up your noſe. It will dilate itſelf "about the brain (where there is any) in fourteen mi-"nutes, and you immediately perceive in your head an "infinite number of *abſtracts*, *ſummaries*, *compendiums*, "*extracts*, *collections*, *medulla's*, *excerpta quædam's*, *florile-"ga's*, and the like, all diſpoſed into great order, and "reducible upon paper."

I muſt needs own, it was by the aſſiſtance of this *arcanum* that I, tho' otherwiſe *impar*, have adventured upon ſo daring an attempt; never atchieved or undertaken before, but by a certain author, called *Homer*; in whom

* This is an imaginary iſland, of kin to that which is called the *painter's wives iſland*, placed in ſome unknown part of the ocean, merely at the fancy of the map maker.

whom, tho' otherwiſe a perſon not without ſome abilities, and *for an antient* of a tolerable genius, I have diſcovered many groſs errors, which are not to be forgiven his very aſhes, if by chance any of them are left. For whereas we are aſſured, he deſigned his work for a compleat body of all knowledge, human, divine, political, and mechanic *; it is manifeſt, he hath wholly neglected ſome, and been very imperfect in the reſt. For, firſt of all, as eminent a *cabaliſt* as his diſciples would repreſent him, his account of the *opus magnum* is extremely poor and deficient; he ſeems to have read but very ſuperficially either *Sendivogus*, *Behmen*, or *Anthropoſophia Theomagica* †. He is alſo quite miſtaken about the *Sphæra Pyroplaſtica*, a neglect not to be atoned for; and, if the reader will admit ſo ſevere a cenſure, *vix crederem auctorem hunc unquam audiviſſe ignis vocem.* His failings are not leſs prominent in ſeveral parts of the *mechanics*. For, having read his writings with the utmoſt application uſual among *modern wits*, I could never yet diſcover the leaſt direction about the ſtructure of that uſeful inſtrument, a *ſave-all*. For want of which, if the *moderns* had not lent their aſſiſtance, we might yet have wandered *in the dark*. But I have ſtill behind, a fault far more notorious to tax this author with; I mean his groſs ignorance in the *common laws of this realm*, and in the doctrine as well as diſcipline of the church of England ‖: a defect indeed, for which both he and all the antients ſtand moſt juſtly cenſured by my worthy and ingenious friend Mr. W—tt—n, batchelor of divinity, in his incomparable treatiſe of *antient and modern learning*;

a

* [*Homerus omnes res humanas poematis complexus eſt.* Xenoph. in conviv.

† A treatiſe written about fifty years ago by a *Welſh* gentleman of Cambridge. His name, as I remember, was *Vaughan*, as appears by the anſwer to it, writ by the learned Dr. Henry More. It is a piece of the moſt unintelligible fuſtian that perhaps was ever publiſhed in any language.

‖ Mr. W—tt—n, (to whom our author never gives any quarter,) in his compariſon of antient and modern learning, numbers divinity, law, *&c.* among thoſe parts of knowledge wherein we excel the antients.

a book never to be ſufficiently valued, whether we conſider the happy turns and flowings of the author's wit, the great uſefulneſs of his ſublime diſcoveries upon the ſubject of *flies* and *ſpittle*, or the laborious eloquence of his ſtyle. And I cannot forbear doing that author the juſtice of my public acknowledgments, for the great *helps* and *liftings* I had out of his incomparable piece, while I was penning this treatiſe.

But, beſides theſe omiſſions in Homer, already mentioned, the curious reader will alſo obſerve ſeveral defects in that author's writings, for which he is not altogether ſo accountable. For whereas every branch of knowledge has received ſuch wonderful acquirements ſince his age, eſpecially within theſe laſt three years, or thereabouts; it is almoſt impoſſible, he could be ſo very perfect in modern diſcoveries, as his advocates pretend. We freely acknowledge him to be the inventor of the *compaſs*, of *gun-powder*, and the *circulation of the blood*. But I challenge any of his admirers, to ſhew me in all his writings a compleat account of the *ſpleen*. Does he not alſo leave us wholly to ſeek in the art of *political wagering*? what can be more defective and unſatisfactory than his long diſſertation upon *tea*? and as to his method of *ſalivation without mercury*, ſo much celebrated of late, it is, to my own knowledge and experience, a thing very little to be relied on.

It was to ſupply ſuch momentous defects, that I have been prevailed on, after long ſolicitation, to take pen in hand; and I dare venture to promiſe, the judicious reader ſhall find nothing neglected here, that can be of uſe upon any emergency of life. I am confident to have included and exhauſted all that human imagination can *riſe* or *fall* to. Particularly, I recommend to the peruſal of the learned, certain diſcoveries that are wholly untouched by others; whereof I ſhall only mention among a great many more, "My new help of ſmatterers; or, "The art of being deep-learned, and ſhallow read;—A "curious invention about mouſe-traps;—An univerſal "rule of reaſon; or, Every man his own carver;" together with a moſt uſeful engine for *catching of owls*.

All

All which the judicious reader will find largely treated on in the several parts of this discourse.

I hold myself obliged to give as much light as is possible, into the beauties and excellencies of what I am writing; because it is become the fashion and manner most applauded among the first authors of this polite and learned age, when they would correct the ill nature of critical, or inform the ignorance of common readers. Besides, there have been several famous pieces lately published, both in verse and prose, wherein, if the writers had not been pleased, out of their great humanity and affection to the public, to give us a new detail of the *sublime* and the *admirable* they contain, it is a thousand to one, whether we should ever have discovered one grain of either. For my own particular, I cannot deny, that whatever I have said upon this occasion, had been more proper in a preface, and more agreeable to the mode, which usually directs it there. But I have think fit to lay hold on that great and innocent privilege of being the *last writer*; I claim an absolute authority in right, as the *freshest modern*, which gives me a despotic power over all authors before me. In the strength of which title, I do utterly disapprove and declare against that pernicious custom, of making the preface a bill of fare to the book. For I have always looked upon it as a high point of indiscretion in *sausage-mongers*, and other *venders of strong waters*, to hang out a fair large picture over the door, drawn after the life, with a most eloquent description underneath. This hath saved me many a threepence; for my curiosity was fully satisfied, and I never offered to go in, tho' often invited by the *urging* and *sounding* orator, with his last *moving* and *stunning* piece of rhetoric, "Sir, upon my word, "we are just going to begin." Such is exactly the fate, at this time, of *Prefaces, Epistles, Advertisements, Introductions, Prolegomena's, Apparatus's, To the Readers*. This expedient was admirable at first. Our great Dryden has long carried it as far as it would go, and with incredible success. He hath often said to me in confidence, that the world would have never suspected him to be so great a poet, if he had not assured them so frequently in his prefaces, that

that it was impoſſible they could either doubt or forget it. Perhaps it may be ſo: however, I much fear, his inſtructions have edified out of their place, and taught men to grow wiſer in certain points, where he never intended they ſhould: for it is lamentable to behold with what a lazy ſcorn many of the yawning readers in our age do now a-days twirl over forty or fifty pages of *Preface* and *Dedication*, (which is the uſual *modern* ſtint.) as if it were ſo much Latin. Tho' it muſt be alſo allowed, on the other hand, that a very conſiderable number is known to proceed *Critics* and *Wits*, by reading nothing elſe. Into which two factions, I think, all preſent readers may juſtly be divided. Now, for myſelf, I profeſs to be of the former ſort: and therefore having the *modern* inclination to expatiate upon the beauty of my own productions, and diſplay the bright parts of my diſcourſe, I thought beſt to do it in the body of the work; where, as it now lies, it makes a very conſiderable addition to the bulk of the volume; "a circumſtance by "no means to be neglected by a ſkilful writer."

HAVING thus paid my due deference and acknowledgement to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom of our neweſt authors, by *a long digreſſion unſought for*, and *an univerſal cenſure unprovoked*; by forcing into the light, with much pains and dexterity, my own excellencies, and other mens defaults, with great juſtice to myſelf, and candour to them; I now happily reſume my ſubject, to the infinite ſatisfaction, both of the reader and the author.

SECT. VI.

A TALE of a TUB.

WE left *Lord Peter* in open rupture with his two brethren; both for ever diſcarded from his houſe, and reſigned to the wide world, with little or nothing to truſt to. Which are circumſtances that render them proper ſubjects for the charity of a writer's pen to work on; ſcenes of miſery ever affording the faireſt harveſt for great

great adventures. And in this the world may perceive the difference between the integrity of a generous author, and that of a common friend. The latter is obſerved to adhere cloſe in proſperity, but, on the decline of fortune, to drop ſuddenly off: whereas the generous author, juſt on the contrary, finds his hero on the dunghill, from thence by gradual ſteps raiſes him to a throne, and then immediately withdraws, expecting not ſo much as thanks for his pains. In imitation of which example, I have placed *Lord Peter* in a noble houſe, given him a title to wear, and money to ſpend. There I ſhall leave him for ſome time; returning, where common charity directs me, to the aſſiſtance of his two brothers, at their loweſt ebb. However, I ſhall by no means forget my character of an hiſtorian, to follow the truth, ſtep by ſtep, whatever happens, or wherever it may lead me.

THE two exiles ſo nearly united in fortune and intereſt, took a lodging together; where, at their firſt leiſure, they began to reflect on the numberleſs misfortunes and vexations of their life paſt; and could not tell, on the ſudden, to what failure in their conduct they ought to impute them; when, after ſome recollection, they called to mind the copy of their father's *will*, which they had ſo happily recovered. This was immediately produced, and a firm reſolution taken between them, to alter whatever was already amiſs, and reduce all their future meaſures to the ſtricteſt obedience preſcribed therein. The main body of the *will* (as the reader cannot eaſily have forgot) conſiſted in certain admirable rules about the wearing of their coats: in the peruſal whereof, the two brothers at every period, duly comparing the doctrine with the practice, there was never ſeen a wider difference between two things; horrible, downright tranſgreſſions of every point. Upon which they both reſolved, without farther delay, to fall immediately upon reducing the whole exactly after their father's model.

BUT here it is good to ſtop the haſty reader, ever impatient to ſee the end of an adventure, before we writers can duly prepare him for it. I am to record, that theſe two brothers began to be diſtinguiſhed at this time,

time, by certain names. One of them desired to be called *MARTIN* *, and the other took the appellation of *JACK* †. These two had lived in much friendship and agreement, under the tyranny of their brother *Peter*; as it is the talent of fellow-sufferers to do; men in misfortune being like men in the dark, to whom all colours are the same. But when they came forward into the world, and began to display themselves to each other, and to the light, their complexions appeared extremely different; which the present posture of their affairs gave them sudden opportunity to discover.

But here the severe reader may justly tax me as a writer of short memory; a deficiency to which a true *modern* cannot but of necessity be a little subject; because *memory* being an employment of the mind upon things past, is a faculty, for which the learned in our illustrious age have no manner of occasion, who deal entirely with *invention*, and strike all things out of themselves, or at least by collision, from each other: upon which account, we think it highly reasonable to produce our great forgetfulness, as an argument unanswerable for our great wit. I ought, in method, to have informed the reader about fifty pages ago, of a fancy *Lord Peter* took, and infused into his brothers, to wear on their coats whatever trimmings came up in fashion; never pulling off any as they went out of the mode, but keeping on all together; which amounted in time to a medley, the most antique you can possibly conceive; and this to a degree, that upon the time of their falling out, there was hardly a thread of the original coat to be seen, but an infinite quantity of *lace*, and *ribbands*, and *fringe*, and *embroidery*, and *points*; (I mean, only those *tagged with silver* ‡, for the rest fell off). Now, this material circumstance having been forgot in due place, as good fortune hath ordered, comes in very properly here, when the two brothers are just going to reform their vestures into the primitive state, prescribed by their father's *will*.

They

* Martin Luther. † John Calvin.

‡ Points tagged with silver, are those doctrines that promote the greatness and wealth of the church; which have been therefore woven deepest in the body of Popery.

They both unanimouſly entered upon this great work, looking ſometimes on their coats, and ſometimes on the *will*. *Martin* laid the firſt hand; at one twitch brought off a large handful of *points*; and with a ſecond pull, ſtript away ten dozen yards of *fringe*. But when he had gone thus far, he demurred a while. He knew very well, there yet remained a great deal more to be done. However, the firſt heat being over, his violence began to cool, and he reſolved to proceed more moderately in the reſt of the work; having already very narrowly eſcaped a ſwinging rent in pulling off the *points*, which, being *tagged with ſilver*, (as we have obſerved before), the judicious workman had with much ſagacity double ſewn, to preſerve them from *falling*. Reſolving therefore to rid his coat of a huge quantity of *gold-lace*, he picked up the ſtitches with much caution, and diligently gleaned out all the looſe threads as he went; which proved to be a work of time. Then he fell about the embroidered *Indian* figures of men, women, and children; againſt which, as you have heard in its due place, their father's teſtament was extremely exact and ſevere: theſe, with much dexterity and application, were, after a while, quite eradicated, or utterly defaced. For the reſt, where he obſerved the embroidery to be worked ſo cloſe, as not to be got away without damaging the cloth, or where it ſerved to hide or ſtrengthen any flaw in the body of the coat, contracted by the perpetual tampering of workmen upon it; he concluded, the wiſeſt courſe was, to let it remain; reſolving in no caſe whatſoever, that the ſubſtance of the ſtuff ſhould ſuffer injury; which he thought the beſt method for ſerving the true intent and meaning of his father's *will*. And this is the neareſt account I have been able to collect of *Martin*'s proceedings upon this great revolution.

But his brother *Jack*, whoſe adventures will be ſo extraordinary, as to furniſh a great part in the remainder of this diſcourſe, entered upon the matter with other thoughts, and a quite different ſpirit. For the memory of *Lord Peter*'s injuries produced a degree of hatred and ſpite, which had a much greater ſhare of inciting him,

than any regards after his father's commands; ſince theſe appeared at beſt only ſecondary and ſubſervient to the other. However, for this medley of humour he made a ſhift to find a very plauſible name, honouring it with the title of *zeal*; which is perhaps the moſt ſignificant word that hath been ever yet produced in any language; as, I think, I have fully proved in my excellent *analytical* diſcourſe upon that ſubject; wherein I have deduced a *hiſtori-theo-phyſi-logical* account of *zeal*; ſhewing how it firſt proceeded from a *notion* into a *word*, and from thence, in a hot ſummer, ripened into a *tangible ſubſtance*. This work, containing three large volumes in folio, I deſign very ſhortly to publiſh by the *modern* way of *ſubſcription*; not doubting but the Nobility and Gentry of the land will give me all poſſible encouragement, having already had ſuch a taſte of what I am able to perform.

I record therefore that brother *Jack*, brimful of this miraculous compound, reflecting with indignation upon *Peter*'s tyranny, and farther provoked by the deſpondency of *Martin*, prefaced his reſolutions to this purpoſe. "What, (ſaid he,) a rogue, that locked up his drink, "turned away our wives, cheated us of our fortunes, "palmed his damned cruſts upon us for mutton, and at "laſt kicked us out of doors; muſt we be in his faſhions "with a pox! a raſcal, beſides, that all the ſtreet cries "out againſt." Having thus kindled and inflamed himſelf as high as poſſible, and by conſequence in a delicate temper for beginning a reformation, he ſet about the work immediately, and in three minutes made more diſpatch than *Martin* had done in as many hours. For, courteous reader, you are given to underſtand, that *zeal* is never ſo highly obliged, as when you ſet it a *tearing*; and *Jack*, who doated on that quality in himſelf, allowed it at this time its full ſwing. Thus it happened, that ſtripping down a parcel of *gold-lace*, a little too haſtily, he rent the *main body* of his *coat* from top to bottom; and whereas his talent was not of the happieſt in *taking up a ſtitch*, he knew no better way, than to dern it again with *packthread* and a *ſkewer*. But the matter was yet infinitely worſe (I record it with tears) when he proceeded to the *embroidery:* for being clumſy by nature, and of temper

temper impatient; withal, beholding millions of ſtitches, that required the niceſt hand, and ſedateſt conſtitution, to extricate; in a great rage he tore off the whole piece, cloth and all, and flung it into the kennel; and furiouſly thus continuing his career, "Ah, good brother "*Martin, ſaid he,* do as I do, for the love of God; ſtrip, "tear, pull, rent, flay off all, that we may appear as un-"like that rogue *Peter* as it is poſſible. I would not "for an hundred pounds carry the leaſt mark about me, "that might give occaſion to the neighbours of ſuſpect-"ing I was related to ſuch a raſcal." But *Martin*, who at this time happened to be extremely flegmatic and ſedate, "begged his brother of all love, not to damage "his coat by any means; for he never would get ſuch "another: *deſired him* to conſider, that it was not their "buſineſs to form their actions by any reflexion upon "*Peter*'s, but by obſerving the rules preſcribed in their "father's *will*; that he ſhould remember *Peter* was ſtill "their brother, whatever faults or injuries he had com-"mitted; and therefore they ſhould by all means avoid "ſuch a thought, as that of taking meaſures for good "and evil, from no other rule than of oppoſition to him: "*That* it was true the teſtament of their good father "was very exact in what related to the wearing of their "*coats*; yet was it no leſs penal and ſtrict in preſcribing "agreement, and friendſhip, and affection between them; "and therefore, if ſtraining a point were at all diſpenſa-"ble, it would certainly be ſo, rather to the advance of "unity, than increaſe of contradiction."

MARTIN had ſtill proceeded as gravely as he began; and doubtleſs would have delivered an admirable lecture of morality, which might have exceedingly contributed to my reader's *repoſe, both of body and mind,* (the true ultimate end of *Ethics*); but *Jack* was already gone a flight-ſhot beyond his patience. And as, in ſcholaſtic diſputes, nothing ſerves to rouze the ſpleen of him that *oppoſes*, ſo much as a kind of pedantic affected calmneſs in the *reſpondent*; diſputants being for the moſt part like unequal ſcales, where the *gravity* of one ſide advances the *lightneſs* of the other, and cauſes it to fly up, and

kick the beam: ſo it happened here, that the *weight* of *Martin*'s arguments exalted *Jack*'s *levity*, and made him fly out and ſpurn againſt his brother's moderation. In ſhort, *Martin*'s *patience* put *Jack* in a *rage*. But that which moſt afflicted him, was, to obſerve his brother's coat ſo well reduced into the ſtate of innocence; while his own was either wholly rent to his ſhirt, or thoſe places which had eſcaped his cruel clutches, were ſtill in *Peter*'s livery: ſo that he looked like a drunken *beau*, half rifled by *bullies*: or like a freſh tenant of *Newgate*, when he has refuſed the payment of *garniſh*; or like a diſcovered *ſhop-lifter*, left to the mercy of *exchange-women**; or like a *bawd* in her old velvet petticoat, reſigned into the ſecular hands of the *mobile*. Like any, or like all of theſe, a medley of *rags* and *lace*, and *rents* and *fringe*, unfortunate *Jack* did now appear. He would have been extremely glad to ſee his coat in the condition of *Martin*'s, but infinitely glader to find that of *Martin*'s in the ſame predicament with his. However, ſince neither of theſe was likely to come to paſs, he thought fit to lend the whole buſineſs another turn, and to dreſs up neceſſity into a virtue. Therefore, after as many of the *fox*'s arguments † as he could muſter up, for bringing *Martin* to *reaſon*, as he called it, or, as he meant it, into his own ragged, bobtailed condition; and obſerving he ſaid all to little purpoſe; what, alas! was left for the forlorn *Jack* to do, but, after a million of ſcurrilites againſt his brother, to run mad with ſpleen, and ſpite, and contradiction? to be ſhort, here began a mortal breach between theſe

* The galleries over the piazzas in the Royal Exchange were formerly filled with ſhops, kept chiefly by women; the ſame uſe was made of a building called the *New Exchange* in the Strand: this edifice has been pulled down; the ſhopkeepers have removed from the Royal Exchange into Cornhill, and the adjacent ſtreets; and there are now no remains of *Exchange-women*, but in *Exeter'change*, and they are no longer deemed the firſt miniſters of faſhion.

† The fox in the fable, who having been caught in a trap and loſt his tail, uſed many arguments to perſuade the reſt to cut off theirs; that the ſingularity of his deformity might not expoſe *him to* deriſion.

theſe two. *Jack* went immediately to *new lodgings*, and in a few days it was for certain reported, that he had run out of his wits. In a ſhort time after he appeared abroad, and confirmed the report, by falling into the oddeſt whimſies that ever a ſick brain conceived.

AND now the little boys in the ſtreets began to ſalute him with ſeveral names. Sometimes they would call him *Jack the Bald* * ; ſometimes, *Jack with a Lanthorn* † ; ſometimes, *Dutch Jack* ‡ ; ſometimes, *French Hugh* ‖ ; ſometimes *Tom the Beggar* ‡‡ ; and ſometimes, *Knocking Jack of the North* ‖‖. And it was under one, or ſome, or all of theſe appellations, which I leave the learned reader to determine, that he hath given riſe to the moſt illuſtrious and epidemic ſect of Æoliſts, who, with honourable commemoration, do ſtill acknowledge the renowned *JACK* for their author and founder. Of whoſe original, as well as principles, I am now advancing to gratify the world with a very particular account;

——*Melleo contingens cuncta lepore.*

SECT. VII.

A Digreſſion in praiſe of Digreſſions.

I Have ſometimes *heard* of an *Iliad* in a *nut-ſhell* ; but it hath been my fortune to have much oftner *ſeen* a *nut-ſhell* in an *Iliad*. There is no doubt that human life has received moſt wonderful advantages from both ; but to which of the two the world is chiefly indebted,

* That is, *Calvin*, from *calvus* bald.
† All thoſe who pretend to inward light.
‡ *Jack* of *Leyden*, who gave riſe to the *Anabaptiſts*.
‖ The *Hugonots*.
‡‡ The *Gueuſes*, by which name ſome Proteſtants in Flanders were called.
‖‖ *John Knox* the Reformer of Scotland.

I ſhall leave among the curious, as a problem worthy of their utmoſt inquiry. For the invention of the latter, I think the commonwealth of learning is chiefly obliged to the great *modern* improvement of *digreſſions:* the late refinements in knowledge running parallel to thoſe of diet in our nation, which, among men of a judicious taſte, are dreſſed up in various compounds, conſiſting in *ſoups*, and *ollio's*, *fricaſſees*, and *ragoûts*.

It is true, there is a ſort of moroſe, detracting, ill-bred people, who pretend utterly to diſreliſh theſe polite innovations. And, as to the ſimilitude from diet, they allow the parallel; but are ſo bold to pronounce the example itſelf a corruption and degeneracy of taſte. They tell us, that the faſhion of jumbling fifty things together in a diſh, was at firſt introduced in compliance to a depraved and *debauched appetite*, as well as to a *crazy conſtitution*; and to ſee a man hunting thro' an *ollio* after the *head* and *brains* of a *gooſe*, a *wigeon*, or a *woodcock*, is a ſign he wants a ſtomach and digeſtion for more ſubſtantial victuals. Farther, they affirm, that *digreſſions* in a book are like *foreign troops* in a *State*, which argue the nation to want a *heart* and *hands* of its own; and often either *ſubdue* the *natives*, or drive them into the moſt *unfruitful corners*.

But, after all that can be objected by theſe ſupercilious cenſors, it is manifeſt, the ſociety of writers would quickly be reduced to a very inconſiderable number, if men were put upon making books, with the fatal confinement of delivering nothing beyond what is to the purpoſe. It is acknowledged, that, were the caſe the ſame among us as with the Greeks and Romans, when learning was in its *cradle*, to be reared, and fed, and clothed by *invention*; it would be an eaſy taſk to fill up volumes upon particular occaſions, without farther expatiating from the ſubject, than by moderate excurſions, helping to advance or clear the main deſign. But with *knowledge* it has fared as with a numerous army, encamped in a fruitful country, which for a few days maintains itſelf by the product of the ſoil it is on, till proviſions being ſpent, they ſend to forage many a mile, among friends or enemies, it matters not. Mean while, the neighbouring

ing fields trampled and beaten down, become barren and dry, affording no ſuſtenance but clouds of duſt.

THE whole courſe of things being thus entirely changed between *us* and the *antients*, and the *moderns* wiſely ſenſible of it, we of this age have diſcovered a ſhorter, and more prudent method, to become *ſcholars* and *wits*, without the fatigue of *reading* or of *thinking*. The moſt accompliſhed way of uſing books at preſent is twofold: either, firſt, to ſerve them as ſome men do *Lords*, learn their *titles* exactly, and then brag of their acquaintance; or, ſecondly, which is indeed the choicer, the profounder, and politer method, to get a thorough inſight into the *index*, by which the whole book is governed and turned, like *fiſhes*, by the *tail*. For to enter the palace of learning at the *great gate*, requires an expence of time and forms; therefore men of much haſte, and little ceremony, are content to get in by the *back-door*: for the arts are all in a *flying* march, and therefore more eaſily ſubdued by attacking them in the *rear*. Thus phyſicians diſcover the ſtate of the whole body, by conſulting only what comes from *behind*. Thus men catch knowledge by throwing their *wit* on the *poſteriors* of a book, as boys do ſparrows with ſtinging *ſalt* upon their *tails*. Thus human life is beſt underſtood by the wiſe man's rule of *regarding the end*. Thus are the ſciences found, like Hercules's oxen, by *tracing them backwards*. Thus are *old ſciences* unravelled, like *old ſtockings*, by beginning at the *foot*.

BESIDES all this, the army of the ſciences hath been of late, with a world of martial diſcipline, drawn into its *cloſe order*; ſo that a view or a muſter may be taken of it with abundance of expedition. For this great bleſſing we are wholly indebted to *ſyſtems* and *abſtracts*, in which the *modern* fathers of learning, like prudent uſurers, ſpent their ſweat for the eaſe of us their children. For *labour* is the ſeed of *idleneſs*, and it is the peculiar happineſs of our noble age to gather the *fruit*.

Now, the method of growing wiſe, learned, and *ſublime*, having become ſo regular an affair, and ſo eſtabliſhed in all its forms, the numbers of writers muſt needs have increaſed accordingly, and to a pitch that has made

made it of abſolute neceſſity for them to interfere continually with each other. Beſides, it is reckoned, that there is not at this preſent a ſufficient quantity of new matter left in nature, to furniſh and adorn any one particular ſubject to the extent of a volume. This I am told by a very ſkilful *computer*, who hath given a full demonſtration of it from rules of *arithmetic*.

THIS perhaps may be objected againſt by thoſe who maintain the infinity of matter; and therefore will not allow that any *ſpecies* of it can be exhauſted. For anſwer to which, let us examine the nobleſt branch of *modern* wit or invention, planted and cultivated by the preſent age, and which, of all others, hath born the moſt and the faireſt fruit: for, tho' ſome remains of it were left us by the *antients*, yet have not any of thoſe, as I remember, been tranſlated, or compiled into ſyſtems for *modern* uſe. Therefore we may affirm, to our own honour, that it has in ſome ſort been both invented and brought to a perfection by the ſame hands. What I mean, is that highly celebrated talent among the *modern* wits, of deducing ſimilitudes, alluſions, and applications, very ſurpriſing, agreeable, and appoſite, from the *pudenda* of either ſex, together with *their proper uſes*. And truly, having obſerved how little invention bears any vogue, beſides what is derived into theſe *channels*, I have ſometimes had a thought, that the happy genius of our age and country was prophetically held forth by that antient typical deſcription of the Indian pygmies; *whoſe ſtature did not exceed above two foot; ſed quorum pudenda craſſa, et ad talos uſque pertingentia* ‡. Now, I have been very curious to inſpect the late productions, wherein the beauties of this kind have moſt prominently appeared. And, altho' this *vein* hath bled ſo freely, and all endeavours have been uſed in the power of human breath, to dilate, extend, and keep it open; like the Scythians, *who had a cuſtom, and an inſtrument, to blow up the privities of their mares, that they might yield the more milk* ‖: yet I am under an apprehenſion it is near growing dry, and paſt all

‡ *Cteſiæ fragm. apud Photium.*
‖ Herodot. l. 4.

all recovery; and that either ſome new *ſtrain* of wit ſhould, if poſſible, be provided, or elſe that we muſt e'en be content with repetition here, as well as upon all other occaſions.

THIS will ſtand as an unconteſtable argument, that our *modern* wits are not to reckon upon the infinity of matter for a conſtant ſupply. What remains, therefore, but that our laſt recourſe muſt be had to large *Indexes*, and little *Compendiums? Quotations* muſt be plentifully gathered, and booked in alphabet. To this end, tho' authors need be little conſulted, yet *Critics*, and *Commentators*, and *Lexicons*, carefully muſt. But, above all, thoſe judicious collectors of *bright parts*, and *flowers*, and *obſervanda's*, are to be nicely dwelt on, by ſome called the *ſieves* and *boulters* of learning; tho' it is left undetermined, whether they dealt in *pearls* or *meal*; and, conſequently, whether we are more to value that which *paſſed thro'*, or what *ſtaid behind*.

BY theſe methods, in a few weeks, there ſtarts up many a writer, capable of managing the profoundeſt and moſt univerſal ſubjects. For what tho' his *head* be empty, provided his *common-place book* be full? and if you will bate him but the circumſtances of *method*, and *ſtyle*, and *grammar*, and *invention*; allow him but the common privileges of tranſcribing from others, and digreſſing from himſelf, as often as he ſhall ſee occaſion; he will deſire no more ingredients towards fitting up a treatiſe, that ſhall make a very comely figure on a bookſeller's ſhelf, there to be preſerved neat and clean, for a long eternity, adorned with the heraldry of its title, fairly inſcribed on a label; never to be thumbed or greaſed by ſtudents, nor bound to everlaſting chains of darkneſs in a library; but when the fulneſs of time is come, ſhall happily undergo the trial of purgatory, in order *to aſcend the ſky*.

WITHOUT theſe allowances, how is it poſſible we *modern* wits ſhould ever have an opportunity to introduce our collections, liſted under ſo many thouſand heads of a different nature? for want of which, the learned world would be deprived of infinite delight, as well as inſtruction,

ſtruction, and we ourſelves buried beyond redreſs in an inglorious and undiſtinguiſhed oblivion.

FROM ſuch elements as theſe, I am alive to behold the day, wherein the corporation of authors can outvie all its brethren in the *field*: a happineſs derived to us with a great many others, from our Scythian anceſtors; among whom the number of *pens* was ſo infinite, that the Grecian eloquence had no other way of expreſſing it, than by ſaying, "That in the regions far to the *north* it was "hardly poſſible for a man to travel, the very air was "ſo replete with feathers.†"

THE neceſſity of this digreſſion will eaſily excuſe the length; and I have choſen for it as proper a place as I could readily find. If the judicious reader can aſſign a fitter, I do here impower him to remove it into any other corner he pleaſes. And ſo I return with great alacrity to purſue a more important concern.

SECT. VIII.

A TALE of a TUB.

THE learned Æoliſts ‡ maintain the original cauſe of all things to be *wind*, from which principle this whole univerſe was at firſt produced, and into which it muſt at laſt be reſolved; that the ſame breath which had kindled, and blew *up* the flame of nature, ſhould one day blow it *out*.

Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans.

THIS is what the *adepti* underſtand by their *anima mundi*; that is to ſay, the *ſpirit*, or *breath*; or *wind* of the world. For examine the whole ſyſtem by the particulars of nature, and you will find it not to be diſputed. For, whether you pleaſe to call the *forma informans*

† [*Herodot. l.* 4.]
‡ All pretenders to inſpiration whatſoever.

mans of man, by the name of *ſpiritus*, *animus*, *afflatus*, or *anima*; what are all theſe but ſeveral appellations for *wind*? which is the ruling *element* in every compound, and into which they all reſolve upon their corruption. Farther, what is life itſelf, but, as it is commonly called, the *breath* of our noſtrils; whence it is very juſtly obſerved by naturaliſts, that *wind* ſtill continues of great emolument in *certain myſteries* not to be named, giving occaſion for thoſe happy epithets of *turgidus*, and *inflatus*, applied either to the *emittent* or *recipient* organs.

By what I have gathered out of antient records, I find the *compaſs* of their doctrine took in two and thirty points, wherein it would be tedious to be very particular. However, a few of their moſt important precepts, deducible from it, are by no means to be omitted; among which the following maxim was of much weight, That ſince *wind* had the maſter-ſhare, as well as operation in every compound, by conſequence, thoſe beings muſt be of chief excellence, wherein that *primordium* appears moſt prominently to abound; and therefore *man* is in higheſt perfection of all created things, as having, by the great bounty of philoſophers, been endued with three diſtinct *anima's* or *winds*, to which the ſage Æoliſts, with much liberality, have added a fourth, of equal neceſſity, as well as ornament, with the other three; by this *quartum principium*, taking in the four corners of the world; which gave occaſion to that renowned *Cabaliſt*, *Bumbaſtus* *, of placing the body of man in due poſition to the four *cardinal* points.

In conſequence of this, their next principle was, that *man* brings with him into the world a peculiar portion or grain of *wind*, which may be called a *quinta eſſentia*, extracted from the other four. This *quinteſſence* is of catholic uſe upon all emergencies of life, is improvable into all arts and ſciences, and may be wonderfully refined, as well as enlarged, by certain methods in education. This, when *blown* up to its perfection, ought not to be covetouſly hoarded up, ſtifled, or hid under a buſhel, but freely

* This is one of the names of Paracelſus. He was called *Chriſtophorus*, *Theophraſtus*, *Paracelſus*, *Bumbaſtus*.

freely communicated to mankind. Upon theſe reaſons, and others of equal weight, the wiſe Æoliſts affirm the gift of BELCHING to be the nobleſt act of a rational creature. To cultivate which art, and render it more ſerviceable to mankind, they made uſe of ſeveral methods. At certain ſeaſons of the year, you might behold the Prieſts among them in vaſt numbers, with their *mouths gaping wide againſt a ſtorm* †. At other times were to be ſeen ſeveral hundreds linked together in a circular chain, with every man a pair of bellows applied to his neighbour's breech, by which they blew up each other to the ſhape and ſize of a *tun*; and for that reaſon, with great propriety of ſpeech, did uſually call their bodies their *veſſels*. When, by theſe, and the like performances, they were grown ſufficiently replete, they would immediately depart, and diſembogue, for the public good, a plentiful ſhare of their acquirements into their diſciples chaps. For we muſt here obſerve, that all learning was eſteemed among them to be compounded from the ſame principle: becauſe, firſt, it is generally affirmed, or confeſſed, that learning *puffeth men up*: and, ſecondly, they proved it by the following ſyllogiſm: "Words are but wind; and learning is nothing "but words; *ergo*, learning is nothing but wind." For this reaſon, the philoſophers among them did, in their ſchools, deliver to their pupils, all their doctrines and opinions by *eructation*, wherein they had acquired a wonderful eloquence, and of incredible variety. But the great characteriſtic by which their chief ſages were beſt diſtinguiſhed, was a certain poſition of countenance, which gave undoubted intelligence to what degree or proportion the ſpirit agitated the inward maſs. For, after certain gripings, the *wind* and vapours iſſuing forth; having firſt, by their turbulence and convulſions within, cauſed an earthquake in man's little world; diſtorted the mouth, bloated the cheeks, and gave the eyes a terrible kind of *relievo*. At which junctures, all their *belches* were received for ſacred, the ſourer the better, and

† This is meant of thoſe ſeditious preachers who blow up the ſeeds of rebellion, &c.

and ſwallowed with infinite conſolation by their meagre devotees. And to render theſe yet more complete; becauſe the breath of man's life is in his noſtrils, therefore the choiceſt, moſt edifying, and moſt enlivening *belches* were very wiſely conveyed thro' that vehicle, to give them a tincture as they paſſed.

THEIR gods were the four *winds*, whom they worſhipped as the ſpirits that pervade and enliven the univerſe, and as thoſe from whom alone all *inſpiration* can properly be ſaid to proceed. However, the chief of theſe, to whom they performed the adoration of *Latria* *, was the *almighty North*; an antient deity, whom the inhabitants of Megalopolis in Greece had likewiſe in the higheſt reverence: *Omnium deorum Boream maxime celebrant* †. This god, tho' endued with ubiquity, was yet ſuppoſed by the profounder Æoliſts to poſſeſs one peculiar habitation, or (to ſpeak in form) a *cælum empyræum*, wherein he was more intimately preſent. This was ſituated in a certain region, well known to the antient Greeks, by them called Σκοτία, or the *land of darkneſs*. And altho' many controverſies have ariſen upon that matter; yet ſo much is undiſputed, that from a region of the *like denomination* the moſt refined Æoliſts have borrowed their original; from whence, in every age, the zealous among their prieſthood have brought over their choiceſt *inſpiration*; fetching it with their own hands from the fountain-head, in certain *bladders*, and diſploding it among the ſectaries in all nations; who did, and do, and ever will daily gaſp and pant after it.

Now, their myſteries and rites were performed in this manner. 'Tis well known among the learned, that the virtuoſo's of former ages had a contrivance for carrying and preſerving *winds* in caſks or barrels, which was of great aſſiſtance upon long ſea-voyages; and the loſs of ſo uſeful an art at preſent is very much to be lamented, tho', I know not how, with great negligence omitted by

* *Latria* is that worſhip which is paid only to the ſupreme Deity.

† *Pauſan.* l. 8.

Pancirollus *. It was an invention aſcribed to Æolus himſelf, from whom this ſect is denominated; and who, in honour of their founder's memory, have to this day preſerved great numbers of thoſe *barrels*, whereof they fix one in each of their temples, firſt beating out the top. Into this *barrel*, upon ſolemn days, the prieſt enters; where, having before duly prepared himſelf by the methods already deſcribed, a ſecret funnel is alſo conveyed from his poſteriors to the bottom of the barrel, which admits new ſupplies of inſpiration from a *northern* chink or crany; whereupon you behold him ſwell immediately to the ſhape and ſize of his *veſſel*. In this poſture he diſembogues whole tempeſts upon his auditory, as the ſpirit from beneath gives him utterance; which iſſuing *ex adytis* and *penetralibus*, is not performed without much pain and gripings. And the *wind* in breaking forth, deals with his face as it does with that of the ſea: firſt *blackening*, then *wrinkling*, and at laſt *burſting it into a foam* †. It is in this guiſe the ſacred Æoliſt delivers his oracular *belches* to his panting diſciples; of whom ſome are greedily gaping after the ſanctified breath, others are all the while hymning out the praiſes of the *winds*; and gently wafted to and fro by their own humming, do thus repreſent the ſoft breezes of their deities appeaſed.

It is from this cuſtom of the prieſts, that ſome authors maintain theſe Æoliſts to have been very antient in the world; becauſe the delivery of their myſteries, which I have juſt now mentioned, appears exactly the ſame with that of other antient oracles, whoſe inſpirations were owing to certain ſubterraneous *effluviums* of *wind*, delivered with the *ſame* pain to the prieſt, and much about the *ſame* influence on the people. It is true indeed, that theſe were frequently managed and directed by *female* officers, whoſe organs were underſtood to be better diſpoſed for the admiſſion of thoſe oracular *guſts*, as entering and paſſing up thro' a receptacle of greater capacity, and cauſing

* An author who writ *De artibus perditis*, &c. Of arts loſt, and of arts invented.

† This is an exact deſcription of the changes made in the face by enthuſiaſtic preachers.

cauſing alſo a pruriency by the way, ſuch as, with due management, hath been refined from carnal into a ſpiritual ecſtaſy. And to ſtrengthen this profound conjecture, it is farther inſiſted, that this cuſtom of *female** prieſts is kept up ſtill in certain refined colleges of our *modern* Æoliſts, who are agreed to receive their inſpiration, derived thro' the receptacle aforeſaid, like their anceſtors the Sibyls.

And whereas the mind of man, when he gives the ſpur and bridle to his thoughts, doth never ſtop, but naturally ſallies out into both extremes of high and low, of good and evil; his firſt flight of fancy commonly tranſports him to ideas of what is moſt perfect, finiſhed, and exalted; till having ſoared out of his own reach and ſight, not well perceiving how near the frontiers of height and depth border upon each other, with the ſame courſe and wing he falls down plum into the loweſt bottom of things: like one who travels the *eaſt* into the *weſt*, or like a ſtrait line drawn by its own length into a circle. Whether a tincture of malice in our natures makes us fond of furniſhing every bright idea with its reverſe; or whether reaſon, reflecting upon the ſum of things, can, like the ſun, ſerve only to enlighten one half of the globe, leaving the other half, by neceſſity, under ſhade and darkneſs; or whether fancy, flying up to the imagination of what is higheſt and beſt, becomes over-ſhort, and ſpent, and weary, and ſuddenly falls, like a dead bird of paradiſe, to the ground; or whether, after all theſe *metaphyſical* conjectures, I have not entirely miſſed the true reaſon; the propoſition, however, which hath ſtood me in ſo much circumſtance, is altogether true. That, as the moſt uncivilized parts of mankind have ſome way or other climbed up into the conception of a *God* or ſupreme Power, ſo they have ſeldom forgot to provide their fears with certain ghaſtly notions, which, inſtead of better, have ſerved them pretty tolerably for a *Devil*. And this proceeding ſeems to be natural enough: for it is with men whoſe imaginations are lifted up very high, after the ſame rate as with thoſe whoſe bodies are ſo; that, as they are delighted with the ad-

* Quakers, who ſuffer their women to preach and pray.

vantage of a nearer contemplation upwards, ſo they are equally terrified with the diſmal proſpect of the precipice below. Thus, in the choice of a *devil*, it hath been the uſual method of mankind, to fingle out ſome being, either in act or in viſion, which was in moſt antipathy to the God they had framed. Thus alſo the ſect of *Æoliſts* poſſeſſed themſelves with a dread, and horror, and hatred of two malignant natures, betwixt whom and the deities they adored perpetual enmity was eſtabliſhed. The firſt of theſe was the *Camelion* *, ſworn foe to *inſpiration*, who, in ſcorn, devoured large influences of their God, without refunding the ſmalleſt blaſt by *eructation*. The other was a huge terrible monſter, called *Moulinavent*, who with four ſtrong arms waged eternal battle with all their divinities dexterouſly turning to avoid their blows, and repay them with intereſt.

THUS furniſhed and ſet out with *gods*, as well as *devils*, was the renowned ſect of Æoliſts; which makes at this day ſo illuſtrious a figure in the world, and whereof that polite nation of *Laplanders* are beyond all doubt a moſt authentic branch: of whom I therefore cannot, without injuſtice, here omit to make honourable mention; ſince they appear to be ſo cloſely allied in point of intereſt, as well as inclinations, with their brother Æoliſts among us, as not only to buy their *winds*, by wholeſale, from the *ſame* merchants, but alſo to retale them after the *ſame* rate and method, and to cuſtomers much alike.

Now, whether the ſyſtem here delivered was wholly compiled by *Jack*, or, as ſome writers believe, rather copied from the original at Delphos, with certain additions and emendations ſuited to times and circumſtances; I ſhall not abſolutely determine. This I may affirm, that *Jack* gave it at leaſt a new turn, and formed it into the ſame dreſs and model as it lies deduced by me.

* I do not well underſtand what the author aims at here, any more than by the terrible monſter, mentioned in the following lines, called *Moulinavent*, which is the French word for a windmill.

I have long ſought after this opportunity of doing juſtice to a ſociety of men for whom I have a peculiar honour, and whoſe opinions, as well as practices, have been extremely miſrepreſented and traduced by the malice or ignorance of their adverſaries. For I think it one of the greateſt and beſt of human actions, to remove prejudices, and place things in their trueſt and faireſt light; which I therefore boldly undertake without any regards of my own, beſide the conſcience, the honour, and the thanks.

SECT. IX.

A digreſſion concerning the original, the uſe and improvement of madneſs *in a commonwealth.*

NOR ſhall it any ways detract from the juſt reputation of this famous ſect, that its riſe and inſtitution are owing to ſuch an author as I have deſcribed *Jack* to be; a perſon whoſe intellectuals were overturned, and his brain ſhaken out of its natural poſition; which we commonly ſuppoſe to be a diſtemper, and call by the name of *madneſs* or *phrenzy*. For if we take a ſurvey of the greateſt actions that have been performed in the world under the influences of ſingle men; which are, "the eſtabliſhment of new empires by conqueſt; the advance and progreſs of new ſchemes in philoſophy; "and the contriving, as well as the propagating of new "religions;" we ſhall find the authors of them all to have been perſons whoſe natural reaſon hath admitted great revolutions, from their diet, their education, the prevalency of ſome certain temper, together with the particular influence of air and climate. Beſides, there is ſomething individual in human minds, that eaſily kindles at the accidental approach and colliſion of certain circumſtances, which, tho' of paltry and mean appearance, do often flame out into the greateſt emergencies of life. For great turns are not always given by ſtrong hands, but by lucky adaption, and at proper ſeaſons.

And it is of no import where the fire was kindled, if the vapour has once got up into the brain. For the *upper region* of man is furniſhed like the *middle region* of the air; the materials are formed from cauſes of the wideſt difference, yet produce at laſt the ſame ſubſtance and effect. Miſts ariſe from the earth, ſteams from dunghills, exhalations from the ſea, and ſmoke from fire; yet all clouds are the ſame in compoſition, as well as conſequences; and the fumes iſſuing from a jakes will furniſh as comely and uſeful a vapour, as incenſe from an altar. Thus far, I ſuppoſe, will eaſily be granted me; and then it will follow, that as the face of nature never produces rain, but when it is over-caſt and diſturbed; ſo human underſtanding, ſeated in the brain, muſt be troubled and overſpread by vapours aſcending from the lower faculties, to water the invention, and render it fruitful. Now, altho' theſe vapours (as it hath been already ſaid) are of as various original as thoſe of the ſkies; yet the crops they produce differ both in kind and degree, merely according to the ſoil. I will produce two inſtances to prove and explain what I am now advancing.

A certain great Prince * raiſed a mighty army, filled his coffers with infinite treaſures, provided an invincible fleet; and all this, without giving the leaſt part of his deſign to his greateſt miniſters, or his neareſt favourites. Immediately the whole world was alarmed; the neighbouring crowns in trembling expectations towards what point the ſtorm would burſt; the ſmall politicians every where forming profound conjectures. Some believed he had laid a ſcheme for univerſal monarchy: others, after much inſight, determined the matter to be a project for pulling down the *Pope*, and ſetting up the *reformed* religion, which had once been his own. Some again, of a deeper ſagacity, ſent him into *Aſia*, to ſubdue the *Turk*, and recover *Paleſtine*. In the midſt of all theſe projects and preparations, a certain *State-ſurgeon* †, gathering the nature of the diſeaſe by theſe ſymptoms, attempted the cure; at one blow performed the operation, broke the bag,

* This was Harry the Great of France.

† Ravillac, who ſtabbed Henry the Great in his coach.

bag, and out flew the *vapour*. Nor did any thing want to render it a compleat remedy, only that the Prince unfortunately happened to die in the performance. Now, is the reader exceeding curious to learn from whence this *vapour* took its rise, which had so long set the nations at a gaze! what secret wheel, what hidden spring, could put into motion so wonderful an engine? It was afterwards discovered, that the movement of this whole machine had been directed by an absent *female*, whose eyes had raised a protuberancy, and, before emission, she was removed into an enemy's country. What should an unhappy prince do in such ticklish circumstances as these? He tried in vain the poet's never-failing receipt of *corpora quæque*: For,

Idque petit corpus mens unde est saucia amore;
Unde feritur, eo tendit, gestitque coïre. Lucr.

HAVING to no purpose used all peaceable endeavours, the collected part of the *semen*, raised and inflamed, became a dust, converted to choler, turned head upon the spinal duct, and ascended to the brain. The very same principle that influences a *bully* to break the windows of a whore who has jilted him, naturally stirs up a great prince to raise mighty armies, and dream of nothing but sieges, battles, and victories.

——— Cunnus teterrimi belli
———Causa.

THE other instance is, what I have read somewhere in a very antient author, of a mighty King *, who, for the space of above thirty years, amused himself to take and lose towns; beat armies, and be beaten; drive princes out of their dominions; fright children from their bread and butter; burn, lay waste, plunder, dragoon, massacre subject and stranger, friend and foe, male and female. 'Tis recorded, that the philosophers of each country were in grave dispute upon causes natural, moral, and political, to find out where they should assign an original solution of this *phænomenon*. At last the *vapour* ov

* This is meant of the present French King, *Lewis* XIV.

or *ſpirit* which animated the hero's brain, being in perpetual circulation, ſeized upon that region of human body, ſo renowned for furniſhing the *zibeta occidentalis**, and gathering there into a tumor, left the reſt of the world for that time in peace. Of ſuch mighty conſequence it is, where thoſe exhalations fix; and of ſo little, from whence they proceed. The ſame ſpirits, which, in their ſuperior progreſs, would conquer a kingdom, deſcending upon the *anus*, conclude in a *fiſtula*.

Let us next examine the great introducers of new ſchemes in philoſophy, and ſearch till we can find from what faculty of the ſoul the diſpoſition ariſes in mortal man, of taking it into his head to advance new ſyſtems, with ſuch an eager zeal, in things agreed on all hands impoſſible to be known; from what ſeeds this diſpoſition ſprings, and to what quality of human nature theſe grand innovators have been indebted for their number of diſciples: becauſe it is plain, that ſeveral of the chief among them, both *antient* and *modern*, were uſually miſtaken by their adverſaries, and indeed by all, except their own followers, to have been perſons crazed, or out of their wits; having generally proceeded in the common courſe of their words and actions, by a method very different from the vulgar dictates of *unrefined* reaſon; agreeing, for the moſt part, in their ſeveral models, with their preſent undoubted ſucceſſors in the *Academy* of *modern Bedlam*; (whoſe merits and principles I ſhall farther examine in due place). Of this kind were *Epicurus*, *Diogenes*, *Apollonius*, *Lucretius*, *Paracelſus*, *Des Cartes*, and others; who, if they were now in the world, tied faſt, and ſeparate from their followers, would, in this undiſtinguiſhing age, incur manifeſt danger of *phlebotomy*, and *whips*, and *chains*, and *dark chambers*, and *ſtraw*. For what man, in the natural ſtate or courſe of thinking, did ever conceive it in his power, to reduce the notions of all mankind exactly to the ſame length, and breadth, and

* Paracelſus, who was ſo famous for chymiſtry, tried an experiment upon human excrement, to make a perfume of it; which, when he had brought to perfection, he called *zibeta occidentalis*, or *weſtern civet*, the back parts of man (according to his diviſion mentioned by the author, *page* 86.) being the *weſt*.

and height of his own? Yet this is the first humble and civil design of all innovators in the empire of reason. *Epicurus* modestly hoped, that, one time or other, a certain fortuitous concourse of all mens opinions, after perpetual justlings, the sharp with the smooth, the light and the heavy, the round and the square, would, by certain *clinamina*, unite in the notions of *atoms* and *void*, as these did in the originals of all things. *Cartesius* reckoned to see, before he died, the sentiments of all philosophers, like so many lesser stars in his *romantick* system, wrapt and drawn within his own *vortex*. Now, I would gladly be informed, how it is possible to account for such imaginations as these in particular men, without recourse to my *phænomenon* of *vapours*, ascending from the lower faculties to overshadow the brain, and their distilling into conceptions, for which the narrowness of our mother-tongue has not yet assigned any other name besides that of *madness* or *phrenzy*. Let us therefore now conjecture how it comes to pass, that none of these great prescribers do ever fail providing themselves and their notions with a number of implicit disciples. And I think the reason is easy to be assigned; for there is a peculiar *string* in the harmony of human understanding, which, in several individuals, is exactly of the same tuning. This if you can dexterously screw up to its right key, and then strike gently upon it; whenever you have the good fortune to light among those of the same pitch, they will, by a secret necessary sympathy, strike exactly at the same time. And in this one circumstance lies all the skill or luck of the matter: for if you chance to jar the string among those who are either above or below your own height; instead of subscribing to your doctrine, they will tie you fast, call you mad, and feed you with bread and water. It is therefore a point of the nicest conduct, to distinguish and adapt this noble talent, with respect to the differences of persons and of times. Cicero understood this very well, when writing to a friend in England, with a caution, among other matters, to beware of being cheated by our *hackney-coachmen*, (who, it seems, in those days, were as arrant rascals as they are now) has these remarkable words: *Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid*

aliquid ſapere videreri *. For, to ſpeak a bold truth, it is a fatal miſcarriage, ſo ill to order affairs, as to paſs for a *fool* in one company, when in another you might be treated as a *philoſopher*. Which I deſire *ſome certain gentlemen of my acquaintance* to lay up in their hearts, as a very ſeaſonable *innuendo*.

THIS indeed was the fatal miſtake of that worthy gentleman, my moſt ingenious friend, Mr. Wotton; a perſon, in appearance, ordained for great deſigns, as well as performances, whether you will conſider his *notions* or his *looks*. Surely no man ever advanced into the public with fitter qualifications of body and mind, for the propagation of a new religion. Oh! had thoſe happy talents, miſapplied to vain philoſophy, been turned into their proper channels of *dreams* and *viſions*, where *diſtortion* of mind and countenance are of ſuch ſovereign uſe, the baſe detracting world would not then have dared to report, that ſomething is amiſs, that his brain hath undergone an unlucky ſhake; which even his brother *moderniſts* themſelves, like ungrates, do whiſper ſo loud, that it reaches up to the very garret I am now writing in.

LASTLY, Whoſoever pleaſes to look into the fountains of *enthuſiaſm*, from whence, in all ages, have eternally proceeded ſuch fattening ſtreams, will find the ſpring-head to have been as *troubled* and *muddy* as the current. Of ſuch great emolument is a tincture of this *vapour*, which the world calls *madneſs*, that, without its help, the world would not only be deprived of thoſe two great bleſſings, *conqueſts* and *ſyſtems*, but even all mankind would unhappily be reduced to the ſame belief in things inviſible. Now, the former *poſtulatum* being held, that it is of no import from what originals this *vapour* proceeds, but either in what *angles* it ſtrikes, and ſpreads over the underſtanding, or upon what *ſpecies* of brain it aſcends; it will be a very delicate point, to cut the feather, and divide the ſeveral reaſons to a nice and curious reader, how this numerical difference in the brain can produce effects of ſo vaſt a difference from the ſame *vapour*, as to be the ſole point of individuation between *Alexander the Great*, *Jack* of

* Epiſt. ad Fam. Trebatio.

of Leyden, and Monſieur *Des Cartes*. The preſent argument is the moſt abſtracted that ever I engaged in; it ſtrains my faculties to their higheſt ſtretch: and I deſire the reader to attend with utmoſt perpenſity; for I now proceed to unravel this knotty point.

* THERE is in mankind a certain * * *

aliquid ſapere viderere *. For, to ſpeak a bold truth, it is a fatal miſcarriage, ſo ill to order affairs, as to paſs for a *fool* in one company, when in another you might be treated as a *philoſopher*. Which I deſire *ſome certain gentlemen of my acquaintance* to lay up in their hearts, as a very ſeaſonable *innuendo*.

This indeed was the fatal miſtake of that worthy gentleman, my moſt ingenious friend, Mr. Wotton; a perſon, in appearance, ordained for great deſigns, as well as performances, whether you will conſider his *notions* or his *looks*. Surely no man ever advanced into the public with fitter qualifications of body and mind, for the propagation of a new religion. Oh! had thoſe happy talents, miſapplied to vain philoſophy, been turned into their proper channels of *dreams* and *viſions*, where *diſtortion* of mind and countenance are of ſuch ſovereign uſe, the baſe detracting world would not then have dared to report, that ſomething is amiſs, that his brain hath undergone an unlucky ſhake; which even his brother *moderniſts* themſelves, like ungrates, do whiſper ſo loud, that it reaches up to the very garret I am now writing in.

Lastly, Whoſoever pleaſes to look into the fountains of *enthuſiaſm*, from whence, in all ages, have eternally proceeded ſuch fattening ſtreams, will find the ſpring-head to have been as *troubled* and *muddy* as the current. Of ſuch great emolument is a tincture of this *vapour*, which the world calls *madneſs*, that, without its help, the world would not only be deprived of thoſe two great bleſſings, *conqueſts* and *ſyſtems*, but even all mankind would unhappily be reduced to the ſame belief in things inviſible. Now, the former *poſtulatum* being held, that it is of no import from what originals this *vapour* proceeds, but either in what *angles* it ſtrikes, and ſpreads over the underſtanding, or upon what *ſpecies* of brain it aſcends; it will be a very delicate point, to cut the feather, and divide the ſeveral reaſons to a nice and curious reader, how this numerical difference in the brain can produce effects of ſo vaſt a difference from the ſame *vapour*, as to be the ſole point of individuation between *Alexander the Great*, *Jack*

of

* Epiſt. ad Fam. Trebatio.

of Leyden, and Monſieur *Des Cartes*. The preſent argument is the moſt abſtracted that ever I engaged in; it ſtrains my faculties to their higheſt ſtretch: and I deſire the reader to attend with utmoſt perpenſity; for I now proceed to unravel this knotty point.

* THERE is in mankind a certain * * * * * * *

Hic multa deſiderantur. * * * * * *

ments and pleaſures we moſt value in life, are ſuch as dupe and play the wag with the ſenſes. For if we take an examination of what is generally underſtood by *happineſs*, as it has reſpect either to the underſtanding or the ſenſes, we ſhall find all its properties and adjuncts will herd under this ſhort definition, that *it is a perpetual poſſeſſion of being well deceived.* And, firſt, with relation to the mind or underſtanding, 'tis manifeſt what mighty advantages fiction has over *truth:* and the reaſon is juſt at our elbow; becauſe imagination can build nobler ſcenes, and produce more wonderful revolutions, than fortune or nature will be at expence to furniſh. Nor is mankind to much to blame in his choice thus determining him, if we conſider that the debate merely lies between *things paſt*, and *things conceived.* And ſo the queſtion is only this: whether things that have place in the *imagination*, may not as properly be ſaid to *exiſt*, as thoſe that are ſeated in the *memory?* which may be juſtly held in the affirmative: and very much to the advantage of the former; ſince this is acknowledged to be the *womb* of things, and the other allowed to be no more than the *grave.* Again, if we take this definition of happineſs, and examine it with reference to the ſenſes, it will be acknowledged wonderfully adapt. How fading and inſipid do all objects accoſt us that are not conveyed in the vehicle of *deluſion?* how ſhrunk is every thing as it appears in the glaſs of nature? So that, if it were not for the aſſiſtance of artificial *mediums*, falſe lights, refracted angles, varniſh, and tinſel, there would be a mighty level in the felicity and enjoyments of mortal men. If this were ſeriouſly conſidered by the world, as I have a certain reaſon to ſuſpect it hardly will, men would no longer reckon among their high points of wiſdom, the art of expoſing weak ſides, and publiſhing infirmities: an employment, in my opinion, neither better nor worſe than that of *unmaſking*; which, I think, has never been allowed fair uſage, either in the *world* or the *play-houſe.*

In the proportion that credulity is a more peaceful poſſeſſion of the mind than curioſity, ſo far preferable is that wiſdom which converſes about the ſurface, to that pretended philoſophy which enters into the depth of things,

things, and then comes gravely back with informations and discoveries, that in the inside they are good for nothing. The two senses to which all objects first address themselves, are the sight and the touch. These never examine farther than the colour, the shape, the size, and whatever other qualities dwell, or are drawn by art upon the outward of bodies; and then comes reason officiously, with tools for cutting, and opening, and mangling, and piercing, offering to demonstrate, that they are not of the same consistence quite through. Now, I take all this to be the last degree of perverting nature; one of whose eternal laws it is, to put her best furniture forward. And therefore, in order to save the charges of all such expensive anatomy for the time to come, I do here think fit to inform the reader, that, in such conclusions as these, reason is certainly in the right; and that in most corporeal beings which have fallen under my cognisance, the *outside* hath been infinitely preferable to the *in*. Whereof I have been farther convinced from some late experiments. Last week I saw a woman *flayed*, and you will hardly believe how much it altered her person for the worse. Yesterday I ordered the carcass of a *beau* to be stript in my presence; when we were all amazed to find so many unsuspected faults under one suit of cloaths. Then I laid open his *brain*, his *heart*, and his *spleen*. But I plainly perceived at every operation, that the farther we proceeded, we found the defects increase upon us in number and bulk. From all which I justly formed this conclusion to myself, that whatever philosopher or projector can find out an art to sodder and patch up the flaws and imperfections of nature, will deserve much better of mankind, and teach us a more useful science, than that so much in present esteem, of widening and exposing them, (like him who held *anatomy* to be the ultimate end of *physic*). And he whose fortunes and dispositions have placed him in a convenient station to enjoy the fruits of this noble art; he that can, with Epicurus, content his ideas with the *films* and *images* that fly off upon his senses from the superficies of things; such a man truly wise, creams off nature, leaving the sour and the dregs for philosophy and reason to lap up. This is the

ſublime and refined point of felicity, called *the poſſeſſion of being well deceived*; the ſerene peaceful ſtate of being a fool among knaves.

But to return to *madneſs*: it is certain, that, according to the ſyſtem I have above deduced, every *ſpecies* thereof proceeds from a redundancy of *vapour*; therefore, as ſome kinds of *phrenzy* give double ſtrength to the ſinews, ſo theſe are of other *ſpecies*, which add vigour, and life, and ſpirit, to the brain. Now, it uſually happens, that theſe active ſpirits, getting poſſeſſion of the brain, reſemble thoſe that haunt other waſte and empty dwellings, which, for want of buſineſs, either vaniſh, and carry away a piece of the houſe, or elſe ſtay at home, and fling it all out of the windows. By which are myſtically diſplayed the two principal branches of *madneſs*; and which ſome philoſophers, not conſidering ſo well as I, have miſtook to be different in their cauſes; over-haſtily aſſigning the firſt to deficiency, and the other to redundance.

I think it therefore manifeſt, from what I have here advanced, that the main point of ſkill and addreſs, is, to furniſh employment for this redundancy of *vapour*, and prudently to adjuſt the ſeaſons of it; by which means it may certainly become of cardinal and catholic *emolument* in a commonwealth. Thus one man, chuſing a proper juncture, leaps into a gulph, from thence proceeds a hero, and is called the ſaver of his country: another atchieves the ſame enterprize; but unluckily timing it, has left the brand of *madneſs* fixed as a reproach upon his memory. Upon ſo nice a diſtinction are we taught to repeat the name of *Curtius* with reverence and love; that of *Empedocles* with hatred and contempt. Thus alſo it is uſually conceived, that the elder Brutus only perſonated the *fool* and *madman* for the good of the public. But this was nothing elſe than a redundancy of the ſame *vapour*, long miſapplied, called by the Latins * *ingenium par negotiis*; or, (to tranſlate it as nearly as I can) a ſort of *phrenzy*, never in its right element till you take it up in the buſineſs of the ſtate.

Upon

* Tacit.

Upon all which, and many other reasons of equal weight, tho' not equally curious, I do here gladly embrace an opportunity I have long sought for, of recommending it as a very noble undertaking, to Sir E——d S———r, Sir C——r M——ve, Sir J——n B——ls, J——n H——, Esq; and other patriots concerned, that they would move for leave to bring in a bill, for appointing Commissioners to inspect into Bedlam, and the parts adjacent; who shall be impowered to *send for persons, papers, and records*; to examine into the merits and qualifications of every Student and Professor; to observe with utmost exactness their several dispositions and behaviour; by which means, duly distinguishing and adapting their talents, they might produce admirable instruments for the several offices in a State, †. * * * * *civil* and *military*, proceeding in such methods as I shall here humbly propose. And I hope the gentle reader will give some allowance to my great solicitudes in this important affair, upon account of that high esteem I have ever born that honourable society, whereof I had sometime the happiness to be an unworthy member.

Is any Student tearing his straw in piece meal, swearing and blaspheming, biting his grate, foaming at the mouth, and emptying his piss-pot in the spectators faces? let the Right Worshipful the *Commissioners of Inspection* give him a regiment of dragoons, and send him into Flanders among the *rest*. Is another eternally talking, sputtering, gaping, bawling, in a sound without period or article? what wonderful talents are here mislaid! Let him be furnished immediately with a green bag and papers, and *three pence* * in his pocket, and away with him to Westminster-hall. You will find a third gravely taking the dimensions of his kennel; a person of foresight and insight, tho' kept quite in the dark; for why, like Moses, *ecce cornuta* ‖ *erat ejus facies*. He walks duly in one pace; intreats your penny with due gravity and

† Ecclesiastical.

* A lawyer's coach-hire, when four together, from any of the inns of Court to Westminster.

‖ *Cornutus* is either horned or shining; and by this term Moses is described in the vulgar Latin of the Bible.

ceremony; talks much of hard times, and taxes, and the *whore of Babylon*; bars up the wooden window of his cell conſtantly at eight o'clock; dreams of *fire*, and *ſhop-lifters*, and *court-cuſtomers*, and *privileged places*. Now, what a figure would all theſe acquirements amount to, if the owner were ſent into the *city* among his brethren! Behold a fourth, in much and deep converſation with himſelf; biting his thumbs at proper junctures; his countenance chequered with buſineſs and deſign; ſometimes walking very faſt, with his eyes nailed to a paper that he holds in his hands; a great ſaver of time; ſomewhat thick of hearing; very ſhort of ſight, but more of memory; a man ever in haſte, a great hatcher and breeder of buſineſs, and excellent at the famous art of *whiſpering nothing*; a huge idolater of monoſyllables and procraſtination; ſo ready to *give* his word to every body, that he never *keeps* it; one that has forgot the common *meaning* of words, but an admirable retainer of the *ſound*; extremely ſubject to the *looſeneſs*, for his *occaſions* are perpetually *calling him away*. If you approach his grate in his familiar intervals, "Sir, (ſays "he) give me a penny, and I'll ſing you a ſong; but "give me the penny firſt." (Hence comes the common ſaying, and commoner practice, of parting with *money* for a *ſong*.) What a compleat ſyſtem of *court ſkill* is here deſcribed in every branch of it, and all utterly loſt with wrong application? Accoſt the hole of another kennel, firſt ſtopping your noſe, you will behold a ſurly, gloomy, naſty, ſlovenly mortal, raking in his own dung, and dabling in his urine. The beſt part of his diet, is the reverſion of his own ordure; which expiring into ſteams, whirls perpetually about, and at laſt reinfunds. His complexion is of a dirty yellow, with a thin ſcattered beard, exactly agreeable to that of his diet, upon its firſt declination; like other inſects, who having their birth and education in an excrement, from thence borrow their colour and their ſmell. The Student of this apartment is very ſparing of his words, but ſomewhat over liberal of his breath; he holds his hand out ready to receive your penny, and immediately upon receipt withdraws to his former occupations. Now, is it not amazing, to think,

think, the ſociety of *Warwick-lane* ſhould have no more concern for the recovery of ſo uſeful a member, who, if one may judge from theſe appearances, would become the greateſt ornament to that illuſtrious body? Another Student ſtruts up fiercely to your teeth, puffing with his lips, half ſqueezing out his eyes, and very graciouſly holds you out his hand to kiſs. The *Keeper* deſires you not to be afraid of this Profeſſor, for he will do you no hurt. To him alone is allowed the liberty of the Anti-chamber; and the *orator* of the place gives you to underſtand, that this ſolemn perſon is a *taylor*, run mad with pride. This conſiderable ſtudent is adorned with many other qualities, upon which, at preſent, I ſhall not farther enlarge.——————*hark in your ear**————————— I am ſtrangely miſtaken if all his addreſs, his motions, and his airs, would not then be very natural, and in their proper element.

I ſhall not deſcend ſo minutely as to inſiſt upon the vaſt number of *beaux*, *fidlers*, *poets*, and *politicians*, that the world might recover by ſuch a reformation. But what is more material, beſides the clear gain redounding to the commonwealth, by ſo large an acquiſition of perſons to employ, whoſe talents and acquirements, if I may be ſo bold to affirm it, are now buried, or at leaſt miſapplied; it would be a mighty advantage accruing to the public from this inquiry, that all theſe would very much excel, and arrive at great perfection in their ſeveral kinds; which, I think, is manifeſt from what I have already ſhewn; and ſhall inforce by this one plain inſtance, that even I myſelf, the author of theſe momentous truths, am a perſon whoſe imaginations are hard-mouthed, and exceedingly diſpoſed to run away with his *reaſon*, which I have obſerved, from long experience, to be a very light rider, and eaſily ſhook off: upon which account my friends will never truſt me alone, without a ſolemn promiſe, to vent my ſpeculations in this or the like manner, for the univerſal benefit of human kind; which,

* I cannot conjecture what the author means here, or how this chaſm could be filled, tho' it is capable of more than one interpretation.

perhaps, the gentle, courteous, and candid reader, brimful of that *modern* charity and tenderneſs uſually annexed to his *office*, will be very hardly perſuaded to believe.

SECT. X.

*A FURTHER DIGRESSION**.

IT is an unanſwerable argument of a very refined age, the wonderful civilities that have paſſed of late years between the nation of *authors* and that of *readers*. There can hardly pop out a *play*, a *pumphlet*, or a *poem*, without a preface full of acknowledgments to the world, for the general reception and applauſe they have given it; which the Lord knows where, or when, or how, or from whom it received†. In due deference to ſo laudable a cuſtom, I do here return my humble thanks to his Majeſty, and both houſes of Parliament; to the Lords of the King's moſt Honourable Privy Council; to the Reverend the Judges; to the Clergy, and Gentry, and Yeomanry of this land; but, in a more eſpecial manner, to my worthy brethren and friends at Will's coffee-houſe, and Greſham-college, and Warwick-lane, and Moorfields, and Scotland-yard, and Weſtminſter-hall, and Guildhall; in ſhort, to all inhabitants and retainers whatſoever, either in court, or church, or camp, or city, or country, for their generous and univerſal acceptance of this divine treatiſe. I accept their approbation and good opinion with extreme gratitude; and, to the utmoſt of my poor capacity, ſhall take hold of all opportunities to return the obligation.

I

* This ſection has in former editions been intitled, *A Tale of a Tub*; but the tale not being continued till ſection XI. and this being only a further digreſſion, no apology can be thought neceſſary for making the title correſpond with the contents.

† This is literally true, as we may obſerve in the prefaces to moſt plays, poems, *&c.*

I am alſo happy, that fate has flung me into ſo bleſſed an age for the mutual felicity of *bookſellers* and *authors*, whom I may ſafely affirm to be at this day the two only ſatisfied parties in England. Aſk an *author*, how his laſt piece has ſucceeded? "Why, truly, he thanks his ſtars, "the world has been very favourable, and he has not the "leaſt reaſon to complain. And yet, by G—, he writ it "in a week at bits and ſtarts, when he could ſteal an hour "from his urgent affairs;" as, it is a hundred to one, "you may ſee farther in the preface, to which he refers you; and for the reſt, to the bookſeller. There you go as a cuſtomer, and make the ſame queſtion: "He "bleſſes his God, the *thing* takes wonderfully; he is "juſt printing a ſecond edition, and has but three left in "his ſhop." You beat down the price: "Sir, we ſhall "not differ;" and in hopes of your cuſtom another time, lets you have it as reaſonable as you pleaſe; "and, pray "ſend as many of your acquaintance as you will, I "ſhall upon your account furniſh them all at the ſame "rate."

Now, it is not well enough conſidered, to what accidents and occaſions the world is indebted for the greateſt part of thoſe noble writings which hourly ſtart up to entertain it. If it were not for "a rainy day, a drunken "vigil, a fit of the ſpleen, a courſe of phyſick, a ſleepy "Sunday, an ill run at dice, a long taylor's bill, a "beggar's purſe, a factious head, a hot ſun, coſtive diet, "want of books, and a juſt contempt of learning;" but for theſe events, I ſay, and ſome others too long to recite, (eſpecially *a prudent neglect of taking brimſtone inwardly*) I doubt, the number of *authors*, and of *writings*, would dwindle away to a degree moſt woeful to behold. To confirm this opinion, hear the words of the famous Troglodyte philoſopher. "'Tis certain (ſaid he) ſome "grains of folly are of courſe annexed as part of the "compoſition of human nature; only the choice is left "us, whether we pleaſe to wear them *inlaid* or *imboſſed*: "and we need not go very far to ſeek how that is uſually "determined, when we remember, it is with human "faculties as with liquors, the lighteſt will be ever at "the top."

THERE is in this famous iſland of Britain, a certain paltry *ſcribler*, very voluminous, whoſe character the reader cannot wholly be a ſtranger to. He deals in a pernicious kind of writings, called *ſecond parts*, and uſually paſſes under the name of *The author of the firſt*. I eaſily foreſee, that, as ſoon as I lay down my pen, this nimble operator will have ſtole it, and treat me as inhumanely as he hath already done Dr. *Bl——re L——ge*, and many others who ſhall here be nameleſs. I therefore fly for juſtice and relief into the hands of that great *rectifier of ſaddles* * and *lover of mankind*, Dr. *B—tley*, begging he will take this enormous grievance into his moſt *modern* conſideration: and if it ſhould ſo happen, that the *furniture of an aſs*, in the ſhape of a *ſecond part*, muſt for my ſins be clapped by a miſtake upon my back; that he will immediately pleaſe, in the preſence of the world, to lighten me of the burden, and take it home to *his own houſe*, till the *true beaſt* thinks fit to call for it.

IN the mean time I do here give this public notice, that my reſolutions are, to circumſcribe within this diſcourſe the whole ſtock of matter I have been ſo many years providing. Since my *vein* is once opened, I am content to exhauſt it all at a running, for the peculiar advantage of my dear country, and for the univerſal benefit of mankind. Therefore hoſpitably conſidering the number of my gueſts, they ſhall have my whole entertainment at a meal; and I ſcorn to ſet up the *leavings* in the cupboard. What the *gueſts* cannot eat, may be given to the *poor*; and the *dogs* under the table may gnaw the *bones* †. This I underſtand for a more generous proceeding, than to turn the company's ſtomachs, by inviting them again to-morrow to a ſcurvy meal of *ſcraps*.

IF the reader fairly conſiders the ſtrength of what I have advanced in the foregoing ſection, I am convinced it will produce a wonderful revolution in his notions and opinions;

* Alluding to the trite phraſe, *Place the ſaddle on the right horſe*.

† By *dogs* the author means common injudicious critics, as he explains it himſelf before in his *Digreſſion upon critics*. p. 51.

opinions; and he will be abundantly better prepared to receive and to reliſh the concluding part of this miraculous treatiſe. Readers may be divided into three claſſes; the *ſuperficial*, the *ignorant*, and the *learned*; and I have with much felicity fitted my pen to the genius and advantage of each. The *ſuperficial* reader will be ſtrangely provoked to *laughter*; which clears the breaſt and the lungs, is ſovereign againſt the *ſpleen*, and the moſt innocent of all *diuretics*. The *ignorant* reader (between whom and the former the diſtinction is extremely nice) will find himſelf diſpoſed to *ſtare*; which is an admirable remedy for ill eyes, ſerves to raiſe and enliven the ſpirits, and wonderfully helps *perſpiration*. But the reader truly *learned*, chiefly for whoſe benefit I wake when others ſleep, and ſleep when others wake, will here find ſufficient matter to employ his ſpeculations for the reſt of his life. It were much to be wiſhed, and I do here humbly propoſe for an experiment, that every prince in Chriſtendom will take ſeven of the *deepeſt ſcholars* in his dominions, and ſhut them up cloſe for *ſeven* years, in *ſeven* chambers, with a command to write *ſeven* ample commentaries on this comprehenſive diſcourſe. I ſhall venture to affirm, that whatever difference may be found in their ſeveral conjectures, they will be all, without the leaſt diſtortion, manifeſtly deducible from the text. Mean time, it is my earneſt requeſt, that ſo uſeful an undertaking may be entered upon, if their Majeſties pleaſe, with all convenient ſpeed; becauſe I have a ſtrong inclination, before I leave the world, to taſte a bleſſing which we *myſterious* writers can ſeldom reach, till we have got into our graves; whether it is that *fame*, being a fruit grafted on the body, can hardly grow, and much leſs ripen, till the *ſtock* is in the earth; or whether ſhe be a bird of prey, and is lured among the reſt to purſue after the ſcent of a *carcaſs*; or whether ſhe conceives her trumpet ſounds beſt and fartheſt, when ſhe ſtands on a *tomb*, by the advantage of a riſing ground, and the echo of a hollow vault.

'Tis true, indeed, the republic of *dark* authors, after they once found out this excellent expedient of *dying*, have been peculiarly happy in the variety, as well as extent

tent of their reputation. For, *night* being the univerſal mother of things, wiſe philoſophers hold all writings to be *fruitful* in the proportion they are *dark*; and therefore the *true illuminated* * (that is to ſay, the *darkeſt* of all) have met with ſuch numberleſs commentators, whoſe *ſcholaſtic* midwifery hath delivered them of meanings that the authors themſelves perhaps never conceived, and yet may very juſtly be allowed the lawful parents of them; the words of ſuch writers being like ſeed, which, however ſcattered at random, when they light upon a fruitful ground, will multiply far beyond either the hopes or imagination of the ſower †.

And therefore, in order to promote ſo uſeful a work, I will here take leave to glance a few *innuendo's*, that may be of great aſſiſtance to thoſe ſublime ſpirits who ſhall be appointed to labour in an univerſal comment upon this wonderful diſcourſe. And, firſt, I have couched a very profound myſtery in the number of O's multiplied by *ſeven*, and divided by *nine* ‡. Alſo, if a devout brother of the *Roſy Croſs* will pray fervently for ſixty three mornings, with a lively faith, and then tranſpoſe certain letters and ſyllables according to preſcription, in the ſecond and fifth ſections; they will certainly reveal into a full receipt of the *opus magnum*. Laſtly, whoever will be at the pains to calculate the whole number of each letter in this treatiſe, and ſum up the difference exactly between the ſeveral numbers, aſſigning the true natural cauſe for every ſuch difference; the diſcoveries in the product will plentifully reward his labour. But then he muſt

* A name of the *Roſycrucians*. Theſe were fanatic alchemiſts, who in ſearch after the great ſecret had invented a means altogether proportioned to their end; it was a kind of theological philoſophy, made up of almoſt equal mixtures of Pagan platoniſm, Chriſtian quietiſm, and the Jewiſh cabbala. Warburton on the *Rape of the Lock*.

† Nothing is more frequent, than for commentators to force interpretations, which the author never meant.

‡ This is what the Cabbaliſts among the Jews have done with the Bible, and pretend to find wonderful myſteries by it.

muſt beware of *Bythus* and *Sige* *, and be ſure not to forget the qualities of *Achamoth*; *a cujus lacrymis humecta prodit ſubſtantia, a riſu lucida, a triſtitia ſolida, & a timore mobilis*; wherein † Eugenius Philalethes hath committed an unpardonable miſtake ‡.

SECT. XI.

A TALE of a TUB.

AFTER ſo wide a compaſs as I have wandered, I do now gladly overtake, and cloſe in with my ſubject; and ſhall henceforth hold on with it an even pace to the end of my journey, except ſome beautiful proſpect appears within ſight of my way; whereof though at preſent I have neither warning nor expectation, yet, upon ſuch an accident, come when it will, I ſhall beg my reader's favour and company, allowing me to conduct him through it along with myſelf. For in *writing*, it is as in *travelling*; if a man is in haſte to be at home, (which I

* I was told by an eminent Divine, whom I conſulted on this point, that theſe two barbarous words, with that of *Achamoth*, and its qualities, as here ſet down, are quoted from Irenæus. This he diſcovered by ſearching that antient writer for another quotation of our author, which he has placed in the title page, and refers to the book and chapter; the curious were very inquiſitive, whether thoſe barbarous words, *baſyma cacabaſa*, &c. are really in Irenæus; and, upon inquiry, it was found they were a ſort of cant or jargon of certain heretics, and therefore very properly prefixed to ſuch a book as this of our author.

† Vid. *Anima magica abſcondita*.

‡ To the above mentioned treatiſe, called *Authropoſophia theomagica*, there is another annexed, called *Anima magica abſcondita*, written by the ſame author, Vaughan, under the name of *Eugenius Philalethes*; but in neither of theſe treatiſes is there any mention of *Achamoth*, or its qualities, ſo that this is nothing but amuſement, and a ridicule of dark, unintelligible writers; only the words, *a cujus lacrymis*, &c. are, as we have ſaid, tranſcribed from Irenæus, tho' I know not from what part. I believe one of the author's deſigns was to ſet curious men a hunting through indexes, and inquiring for books out of the common road.

I acknowledge to be none of my caſe, having never ſo little buſineſs as when I am there) if his *horſe* be tired with long riding and ill ways, or be naturally a jade, I adviſe him clearly to make the ſtraiteſt and the commoneſt road, be it ever ſo dirty. But then, ſurely, we muſt own ſuch a man to be a ſcurvy companion at beſt: he *ſpatters* himſelf and his fellow-travellers at every ſtep; all their thoughts, and wiſhes, and converſation turn entirely upon the ſubject of their journey's end; and at every ſplaſh, and plunge, and ſtumble, they heart 1 wiſh one another at the devil.

On the other ſide, when a traveller and his *horſe* are in heart and plight; when his purſe is full, and the day before him; he takes the road only where it is clean or convenient; entertains his company there as agreeably as he can: but, upon the firſt occaſion, carries them along with him to every delightful ſcene in view, whether of art, of nature, or of both; and if they chance to refuſe out of ſtupidity or wearineſs, let them jog on by themſelves, and be d—n'd. He'll overtake them at the next town: at which arriving, he rides furiouſly through; the men, women, and children run out to gaze; a hundred *noiſy curs* * run *barking* after him; of which if he honours the boldeſt with a *laſh of his whip*, it is rather out of ſport than revenge: but ſhould ſome *ſourer mongrel* dare too near an approach, he receives a *ſalute* on the chaps, by an accidental ſtroke from the courſer's heels, (nor is any ground loſt by the blow) which ſends him yelping and limping home.

I now proceed to ſum up the ſingular adventures of my renowned *Jack*; the ſtate of whoſe diſpoſitions and fortunes the careful reader does, no doubt, moſt exactly remember, as I laſt parted with them in the concluſion of a former ſection. Therefore his next care muſt be, from two of the foregoing, to extract a ſcheme of notions that may beſt fit his underſtanding for a true reliſh of what is to enſue.

Jack

* By theſe are meant what the author calls, the *true critics*, *page* 51.

Jack had not only calculated the firſt revolution of his brain ſo prudently, as to give riſe to that epidemic ſect of *Æoliſts*, but ſucceeding alſo into a new and ſtrange variety of conceptions, the fruitfulneſs of his imagination led him into certain notions, which, although in appearance very unaccountable, were not without their myſteries and their meanings, nor wanted followers to countenance and improve them. I ſhall therefore be extremely careful and exact in recounting ſuch material paſſages of this nature, as I have been able to collect, either from undoubted tradition, or indefatigable reading; and ſhall deſcribe them as graphically as it is poſſible, and as far as notions of that height and latitude can be brought within the compaſs of a pen. Nor do I at all queſtion, but they will furniſh plenty of noble matter for ſuch, whoſe converting imaginations diſpoſe them to reduce all things into types; who can make *ſhadows*, no thanks to the ſun; and then mold them into ſubſtances, no thanks to philoſophy; whoſe peculiar talent lies in fixing tropes and allegories to the *letter*, and refining what is literal into figure and myſtery.

Jack had provided a fair copy of his father's *will*, ingroſſed in form upon a large ſkin of parchment; and reſolving to act the part of a moſt dutiful ſon, he became the fondeſt creature of it imaginable. For altho', as I have often told the reader, it conſiſted wholly in certain plain eaſy directions about the management and wearing of their coats, with legacies and penalties in caſe of obedience or neglect; yet he began to entertain a fancy, that the matter was *deeper* and *darker*, and therefore muſt needs have a great deal more of myſtery at the bottom. "Gentlemen, (ſaid he), I will *have* this "very ſkin of parchment to be meat, drink, and cloth; "to be the philoſopher's ſtone, and the univerſal me-"dicine." In conſequence of which raptures, he reſolved to make uſe of it in the moſt neceſſary, as well as the moſt paltry occaſions of life *. He had a way of working it into any ſhape he pleaſed; ſo that it ſerved

* The author here laſhes thoſe pretenders to purity, who place ſo much merit in uſing Scripture phraſe on all occaſions.

him for a night-cap when he went to bed, and for an umbrello in rainy weather. He would lap a piece of it about a ſore toe; or when he had fits, burn two inches under his noſe; or if any thing lay heavy on his ſtomach, ſcrape off, and ſwallow as much of the powder as would lie on a ſilver-penny: they were all infallible remedies. With analogy to theſe refinements, his common talk and converſation ran wholly in the phraſe of his will *; and he circumſcribed the utmoſt of his eloquence within that compaſs, not daring to let ſlip a ſyllable without authority from thence. Once at a ſtrange houſe he was ſuddenly taken ſhort, upon an urgent juncture, whereon it may not be allowed too particularly to dilate; and being not able to call to mind, with that ſuddenneſs the occaſion required, an authentic phraſe for demanding the way to the back-ſide; he choſe rather, as the more prudent courſe, to incur the penalty in ſuch caſes uſually annexed. Neither was it poſſible for the united rhetoric of mankind to prevail with him to make himſelf clean again; becauſe, having conſulted the will upon this emergency, he met with a paſſage near the bottom (whether foiſted in by the tranſcriber, is not known) which ſeemed to forbid it †.

He

* The Proteſtant Diſſenters uſe Scripture-phraſes in their ſerious diſcourſes and compoſures more than the church-of-England men; accordingly *Jack* is introduced, making his common talk and converſation to run wholly in the phraſe of his WILL.

W. Wotton.

† I cannot gueſs the author's meaning here; which I would be very glad to know, becauſe it ſeems to be of importance.

Ibid. *Incurring the penalty in ſuch caſes uſually annexed*, wants no explanation. *He would not make himſelf clean, becauſe having conſulted the will* (*i. e.* the New Teſtament) *he met with a paſſage near the bottom*, i. e. in the 11th verſe of the laſt chapter of the Revelations, "He which is *filthy*, let him be *filthy* ſtill," *which ſeemed to forbid it. Whether foiſted in by the tranſcriber*, is added; becauſe this paragraph is wanting in the Alexandrian MS. the oldeſt and moſt authentic copy of the New Teſtament.

He made it a part of his religion, never to say grace to his meat*; nor could all the world persuade him, as the common phrase is, to eat his victuals *like a Christian*†.

He bore a strange kind of appetite to *Snap-dragon*‡, and to the livid snuffs of a burning candle; which he would catch and swallow with an agility wonderful to conceive; and, by this procedure, maintained a perpetual flame in his belly; which issuing in a glowing steam from both his eyes, as well as his nostrils, and his mouth, made his head appear in a dark night like the scull of an ass, wherein a roguish boy had conveyed a farthing candle, *to the terror of his Majesty's liege subjects.* Therefore he made use of no other expedient to light himself home; but was wont to say, that a *wise man was his own lanthorn.*

He would shut his eyes as he walked along the streets; and if he happened to bounce his head against a post, or fall into the kennel, (as he seldom missed either to do one or both) he would tell the gibing prentices, who looked on, that "he submitted with entire resignation, "as to a trip, or a blow of fate, with whom he found, "by long experience, how vain it was either to wrestle "or to cuff; and whoever durst undertake to do either, "would be sure to come off with a swinging fall, or a "bloody nose. It was ordained, said he, some few "days before the creation, that my nose and this very "post should have a rencounter; and therefore provi-"dence thought fit to send us both into the world in the "same age, and to make us country-men, and fellow-"citizens. Now, had my eyes been open, it is very "likely the business might have been a great deal worse;

* The slovenly way of receiving the sacrament among the Fanatics.

† This is a common phrase to express eating cleanly, and is meant for an invective against that indecent manner among some people in receiving the sacrament; so in the lines before, which is to be understood of the Dissenters refusing to kneel at the sacrament.

‡ I cannot well find the author's meaning here, unless it be the hot, untimely, blind zeal of enthusiasts.

" for how many a confounded ſlip is daily got by man, " with all his foreſight about him? beſides, the eyes of " the underſtanding ſee beſt, when thoſe of the ſenſes " are out of the way; and therefore blind men are ob- " ſerved to tread their ſteps with much more caution, " and conduct, and judgment, than thoſe who rely with too " much confidence upon the virtue of the viſual nerve, " which every little accident ſhakes out of order, and a " drop or a film can wholly diſconcert; like a lanthorn " among a pack of roaring bullies, when they ſcour the " ſtreets; expoſing its owner and itſelf to outward kicks " and buffets, which both might have eſcaped, if the " vanity of appearing would have ſuffered them to walk " in the dark. But farther, if we examine the *conduct* " of theſe boaſted lights, it will prove yet a great deal " worſe than their *fortune*. 'Tis true, I have broke my " noſe againſt this poſt, becauſe providence either for- " got, or did not think it convenient to twitch me by " the elbow, and give me notice to avoid it. But let " not this encourage either the preſent age or poſterity, " to truſt their *noſes* into the keeping of their *eyes*; which " may prove the faireſt way of loſing them for good and " all. For, O ye eyes! ye blind guides; miſerable " guardians are ye of our frail noſes; ye, I ſay, who " faſten upon the firſt precipice in view, and then tow " our wretched willing bodies after you, to the very " brink of deſtruction. But, alas! that brink is rotten, " our feet ſlip, and we tumble down prone into a gulph, " without one hoſpitable ſhrub in the way to break the " fall; a fall to which not any noſe of mortal make is " equal, except that of the Giant Laurcalco †, who was " Lord of the Silver-bridge. Moſt properly, therefore, " O eyes, and with great juſtice, may you be compared " to thoſe fooliſh lights, which conduct men thro' dirt " and darkneſs, till they fall into a deep pit, or a noi- " ſome bog."

This I have produced, as a ſcantling of *Jack*'s great eloquence, and the force of his reaſoning upon ſuch abſtruſe matters.

He

† *Vid.* Don Quixote.

He was, beſides, a perſon of great deſign and improvement in affairs of *devotion*, having introduced a new deity, who has ſince met with a vaſt number of worſhippers; by ſome called *Babel*, by others, *Chaos*; who had an antient temple of Gothic ſtructure upon Saliſbury plain, famous for its ſhrine, and celebration by pilgrims.

When he had ſome roguiſh trick to play, he would down with his knees, up with his eyes, and fall to prayers, tho' in the midſt of the kennel *. Then it was that thoſe who underſtood his pranks, would be ſure to get far enough out of his way; and whenever curioſity attracted ſtrangers to laugh, or to liſten, he would of a ſudden, with one hand out with his *gear*, and piſs full in their eyes, and with the other beſpatter them all with mud.

In winter he went always looſe and unbuttoned, and clad as thin as poſſible, to let *in* the ambient heat; and in ſummer lapped himſelf cloſe and thick, to keep it *out* †.

In all revolutions of government, he would make his court for the office of Hangman-General ‡; and in the exerciſe of that dignity, wherein he was very dextrous, would make uſe of no other *vizard* than a long *prayer* ||.

He had a tongue ſo muſculous and ſubtile, that he could twiſt it up into his noſe, and deliver a ſtrange kind of ſpeech from thence. He was alſo the firſt in theſe kingdoms who began to improve the Spaniſh accompliſhment of *braying*; and, having large ears, perpetually expoſed and arrected, he carried his art to ſuch a perfection, that it was a point of great difficulty to diſtinguiſh, either by the view or the ſound, between the *original* and the *copy*.

* The villanies and cruelties committed by Enthuſiaſts and Fanatics among us, were all performed under the diſguiſe of religion and long prayers.

† They affect differences in habit and behaviour.

‡ They are ſevere perſecutors, and all in a form of cant and devotion.

|| Cromwel and his confederates went, as they called it, *to ſeek God*, when they reſolved to murder the King.

He was troubled with a diſeaſe, reverſe to that called the ſtinging of the *Tarantula*; and would run dog-mad at the noiſe of *muſic*, eſpecially *a pair of bag-pipes**. But he would cure himſelf again, by taking two or three turns in Weſtminſter-hall, or Billingſgate, or in a Boarding-ſchool, or the Royal Exchange, or a State Coffee-houſe.

He was a perſon that feared no colours†, but mortally *hated* all; and upon that account bore a cruel averſion to *painters*; inſomuch that in his paroxyſms, as he walked the ſtreets, he would have his pockets loaden with ſtones, to pelt at the ſigns.

Having from his manner of living frequent occaſions to *waſh* himſelf, he would often leap over head and ears into the water‡, tho' it were in the midſt of the *winter*; but was always obſerved to come out again much *dirtier*, if poſſible, than he went in.

He was the firſt that ever found out the ſecret of contriving a *ſoporiferous* medicine to be conveyed in at the ears. It was a compound of *ſulphur* and *balm of* Gilead, with a little Pilgrim's *ſalve*‖.

He wore a large plaiſter of artificial *cauſtics* on his ſtomach, with the fervor of which he could ſet himſelf *a-groning*, like the famous *board* upon application of a red-hot iron.

He would ſtand in the turning of a ſtreet; and calling to thoſe who paſſed by, would cry to one, "Worthy "Sir, do me the honour of a good ſlap in the chaps;" to another, "Honeſt friend, pray favour me with a "handſom kick on the arſe." "Madam, ſhall I in-"treat a ſmall box on the ear from your Ladyſhip's fair "hands?"

* This is to expoſe our Diſſenters averſion to inſtrumental muſic in churches. W. Wotton.

† They quarrel at the moſt innocent decency and ornament, and deface the ſtatues and paintings on all the churches in England

‡ Baptiſm of adults by plunging.

‖ Fanatic preaching, compoſed either of hell and damnation, or a fulſome deſcription of the joys of heaven, both in ſuch a dirty nauſeous ſtyle, as to be well reſembled to Pilgrim's *ſalve*.

" hands?" " Noble Captain, lend a reaſonable thwack, " for the love of God, with that cane of yours, over " theſe poor ſhoulders *." And when he had, by ſuch earneſt ſollicitations, made a ſhift to procure a baſting ſufficient to ſwell up his fancy and his ſides, he would return home extremely comforted, and full of terrible accounts of what he had undergone for the *public* good. " Obſerve this ſtroke, (ſaid he; ſhewing his bare ſhoul- " ders), a plaguy Janiſſary gave it me this very morning " at ſeven o'clock, as with much ado I was driving off " the *Great Turk*. Neighbours, mind this broken head " deſerves a plaiſter. Had poor *Jack* been tender of his " noddle, you would have ſeen the *Pope* and the " *French King*, long before this time of day, among your " wives and your warehouſes. Dear Chriſtians, the " *Great Mogul* was come as far as White-chapel; and " you may thank theſe poor ſides, that he hath not " (God bleſs us) already ſwallowed up man, woman, " and child."

It was highly worth obſerving the ſingular effects of that averſion or antipathy which *Jack* and his brother *Peter* ſeemed, even to an affectation, to bear towards each other †. *Peter* had lately done *ſome rogueries*, that forced him to abſcond; and he ſeldom ventured to ſtir out before night, for fear of bailiffs. Their lodgings were at the two moſt diſtant parts of the town from each other; and whenever their occaſions or humours called them abroad, they would make choice of the oddeſt unlikely times, and moſt uncouth rounds they could invent, that they might be ſure to avoid one another. Yet, after all this, it was their perpetual fortune to meet. The reaſon

* The Fanatics have always had a way of affecting to run into perſecution, and count vaſt merit upon every little hardſhip they ſuffer.

† The Papiſts and Fanatics, tho' they appear the moſt averſe to each other, yet bear a near reſemblance in many things, as has been obſerved by learned men.

Ibid. The agreement of our Diſſenters and the Papiſts in that which Biſhop Stillingfleet called *the fanaticiſm of the church of Rome*, is ludicrouſly deſcribed for ſeveral pages together by *Jack*'s likeneſs to *Peter*, and their being often miſtaken for each other, and their frequent meeting when they leaſt intended it. W. Wotton.

reaſon of which is eaſy enough to apprehend: for the phrenzy and the ſpleen of both having the ſame foundation, we may look upon them as two pair of compaſſes, equally extended, and the fixed foot of each remaining in the ſame centre; which, tho' moving contrary ways at firſt, will be ſure to encounter ſomewhere or other in the circumference. Beſides, it was among the great misfortunes of *Jack*, to bear a huge perſonal reſemblance with his brother *Peter*. Their humour and diſpoſition were not only the ſame, but there was a cloſe analogy in their ſhape, their ſize, and their mien; inſomuch as nothing was more frequent than for a bailiff to ſeize *Jack* by the ſhoulders, and cry, "Mr. *Peter*, you are the "King's priſoner;" or, at other times, for one of *Peter*'s neareſt friends to accoſt *Jack* with open arms, "Dear *Peter*, I am glad to ſee thee, pray ſend me one of "your beſt medicines for the worms." This, we may ſuppoſe, was a mortifying return of thoſe pains and proceedings *Jack* had laboured in ſo long; and finding how directly oppoſite all his endeavours had anſwered to the ſole end and intention which he had propoſed to himſelf, how could it avoid having terrible effects upon a head and heart ſo furniſhed as his? However, the poor remainders of his *coat* bore all the puniſhment. The orient ſun never entered upon his diurnal progreſs, *without* miſſing a piece of it. He hired a taylor to ſtitch up the collar ſo cloſe, that it was ready to choke him; and ſqueezed out his eyes at ſuch a rate, as one could ſee nothing but the white. What little was left of the main ſubſtance of the coat, he rubbed every day, for two hours, againſt a rough-caſt wall, in order to grind away the remnants of *lace* and *embroidery*; but at the ſame time went on with ſo much violence, that he proceeded a *Heathen philoſopher*. Yet, after all he could do of this kind, the ſucceſs continued ſtill to diſappoint his expectation. For as it is the nature of rags to bear a kind of mock reſemblance to finery; there being a ſort of fluttering appearance in both, which is not to be diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance, in the dark, or by ſhort-ſighted eyes: ſo, in thoſe junctures, it fared with *Jack* and his tatters, that they offered to the firſt view a ridiculous ſtanting; which, aſſiſting

affiſting the reſemblance in perſon and air, thwarted all his projects of ſeparation, and left ſo near a ſimilitude between them, as frequently deceived the very diſciples and followers of both.

Deſunt non-nulla.

The old Sclavonian proverb ſaid well, That "it is "with *men* as with *aſſes*; whoever would keep them faſt, "muſt find a very good hold at their ears." Yet I think we may affirm, that it hath been verified by repeated experience, that,

Effugiet tamen hæc ſceleratus vincula Proteus.

It is good, therefore, to read the maxims of our anceſtors, with great allowances to times and perſons. For, if we look into primitive records, we ſhall find, that no revolutions have been ſo great or ſo frequent as thoſe of human *ears*. In former days, there was a curious invention to catch and keep them; which, I think, we may juſtly reckon among the *artes perditæ*. And how can it be otherwiſe, when, in theſe latter centuries, the very ſpecies is not only diminiſhed to a very lamentable degree, but the poor remainder is alſo degenerated ſo far, as to mock our ſkilfulleſt *tenure*? For if the only ſlitting of one *ear* in a ſtag hath been found ſufficient to propagate the defect thro' a whole *foreſt*, why ſhould we wonder at the greateſt conſequences, from ſo many lopppings and mutilations, to which the *ears* of our fathers and our own have been of late ſo much expoſed? 'Tis true indeed, that while this *iſland* of ours was under the *dominion of grace*, many endeavours were made to improve the growth of *ears* once more among us. The proportion of largeneſs was not only looked upon as an ornament of the *outward* man, but as a type of grace in the *inward*. Beſides, it is held by naturaliſts, that if there be a protuberancy of parts in the *ſuperior* region of

it

the body, as in the *ears* and *noſe*, there muſt be a parity alſo in the *inferior*. And therefore, in that truly pious age, the *males* in every aſſembly, according as they were gifted, appeared very forward in expoſing their *ears* to view, and the regions about them; becauſe Hippocrates tells us, That "when the vein behind the ear happens "to be cut, a man becomes a eunuch *." And the *females* were nothing backwarder in beholding and edifying by them: whereof thoſe who had already *uſed the means*, looked about them with great concern, in hopes of conceiving a ſuitable offspring by ſuch a proſpect. Others, who ſtood candidates for *benevolence*, found there a plentiful choice; and were ſure to fix upon ſuch as diſcovered the largeſt *ears*, that the breed might not dwindle between them. Laſtly, the devouter ſiſters, who looked upon all extraordinary dilatations of that member as protruſions of zeal, or ſpiritual excreſcences, were ſure to honour every head they ſat upon, as if they had been *cloven tongues*; but eſpecially that of the preacher, whoſe *ears* were uſually of the prime magnitude; which, upon that account, he was very frequent and exact in expoſing with all advantages to the people; in his rhetorical *paroxyſms*, turning ſometimes to *hold forth* the one, and ſometimes to *hold forth* the other. From which cuſtom, the whole operation of preaching is to this very day, among their profeſſors, ſtyled by the phraſe of *holding forth*.

Such was the progreſs of the ſaints for advancing the ſize of that member; and it is thought the ſucceſs would have been every way anſwerable, if, in proceſs of time, a cruel king had not aroſe, who raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt all *ears* above a certain ſtandard †. Upon which, ſome were glad to hide their flouriſhing ſprouts in a black border; others crept wholly under a periwig; ſome were ſlit, others crop'd, and a great number ſliced off to the ſtumps. But of this more hereafter in my *general hiſtory of ears*; which I deſign very ſpeedily to beſtow upon the public.

From

* *Lib. de aëre, locis & aquis.*

† This was K. Charles II. who, at his Reſtoration, turned out all the diſſenting teachers that would not conform.

From this brief ſurvey of the falling ſtate of *ears* in the laſt age, and the ſmall care had to advance their antient growth in the preſent, it is manifeſt, how little reaſon we can have to rely upon a hold ſo ſhort, ſo weak, and ſo ſlippery; and that whoever deſires to catch mankind faſt, muſt have recourſe to ſome other methods. Now, he that will examine human nature with circumſpection enough, may diſcover ſeveral *handles*, whereof the *five* * ſenſes afford one a-piece, beſide a great number that are ſcrewed to the paſſions, and ſome few riveted to the intellect. Among theſe laſt, *curioſity* is one, and, of all others, affords the firmeſt graſp; *curioſity*, that ſpur in the ſide, that bridle in the mouth, that ring in the noſe of a lazy, an impatient, and a grunting reader. By this *handle* it is, that an author ſhould ſeize upon his readers; which as ſoon as he hath once compaſſed, all reſiſtance and ſtruggling are in vain; and they become his priſoners as cloſe as he pleaſes, till wearineſs or dulneſs force him to let go his grip.

And therefore I, the author of this miraculous treatiſe, having hitherto, beyond expectation, maintained, by the aforeſaid *handle*, a firm hold upon my gentle readers; it is with great reluctance that I am at length compelled to remit my graſp; leaving them in the peruſal of what remains to that natural *oſtitancy* inherent in the tribe. I can only aſſure thee, courteous reader, for both our comforts, that my concern is altogether equal to thine, for my unhappineſs in loſing, or miſlaying among my papers, the remaining part of theſe Memoirs; which conſiſted of accidents, turns and adventures, both new, agreeable, and ſurpriſing; and therefore calculated, in all due points, to the delicate taſte of this our noble age. But, alas! with my utmoſt endeavours, I have been able only to retain a few of the heads. Under which there was a full account, how *Peter* got a *protection* out of the *King's-bench*; and of a reconcilement between *Jack* and him, upon a deſign they had in a certain *rainy night* to trepan brother *Martin* into a *ſpunging-houſe*, and

* Including *Scaliger's*.

and there ſtrip him to the ſkin*; how *Martin*, with much ado, ſhewed them both a fair pair of heels; how a *new warrant* came out againſt *Peter*; upon which, how *Jack* left him in the lurch, *ſtole his protection, and made uſe of it himſelf.* How *Jack*'s tatters came into faſhion in *court* and *city*; how *he got upon a great horſe*†, *and eat cuſtard*‡. But the particulars of all theſe, with ſeveral others, which have now ſlid out of my memory, are loſt beyond all hopes of recovery. For which misfortune, leaving my readers to condole with each other, as far as they ſhall find it to agree with their ſeveral conſtitutions; but conjuring them by all the friendſhip that hath paſſed between us, from the title-page to this, not to proceed ſo far as to injure their healths, for an accident paſt remedy: I now go on to the ceremonial part of an accompliſhed writer; and therefore, by a courtly *modern*, leaſt of all others to be omitted.

The CONCLUSION.

GOING *too long* is a cauſe of abortion as effectual, tho' not ſo frequent, as *going too ſhort*; and holds true eſpecially in the *labours* of the brain. Well fare the heart of that noble *Jeſuit* ‖ who firſt adventured to confeſs

* In the reign of King James II. the Preſbyterians by the King's invitation joined with the Papiſts againſt the church of England, and addreſſed him for repeal of the penal laws and teſt. The King, by his diſpenſing power, gave liberty of conſcience, which both Papiſts and Preſbyterians made uſe of; but upon the Revolution, the Papiſts being down of courſe, the Preſbyterians freely continued their aſſemblies, by virtue of King James's indulgence, before they had a toleration by law. This, I believe, the author means by *Jack*'s ſtealing *Peter*'s protection, and making uſe of it himſelf

† Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Preſbyterian, was ſome years ago Lord Mayor of London, and had the inſolence to go in his formalities to a conventicle, with the enſigns of his office.

‡ Cuſtard is a famous diſh at a Lord Mayor's feaſt.

‖ Pere d'Orleans.

feſs in print, that books muſt be ſuited to their ſeveral ſeaſons, like dreſs, and diet, and diverſions: and better fare our noble nation, for refining upon this, among other French modes. I am living faſt to ſee the time, when a *book* that miſſes its tide, ſhall be neglected, as the *moon* by day, or like a *Mackarel* a week after the ſeaſon. No man hath more nicely obſerved our climate, than the bookſeller who bought the copy of this work. He knows to a title what ſubjects will beſt go off in a *dry year*, and which it is proper to expoſe foremoſt when the weather-glaſs is fallen to *much rain*. When he had ſeen this treatiſe, and conſulted his *almanac* upon it, he gave me to underſtand, that he had manifeſtly conſidered the two principal things, which were, the *bulk* and the *ſubject*; and found it would never *take*, but after a long vacation; and then only in caſe it ſhould happen to be a hard year for turnips. Upon which I deſired to know, *conſidering my urgent neceſſities*, what he thought might be acceptable this month. He looked *weſtward*, and ſaid, "I doubt we ſhall have a fit of bad "weather; however, if you could prepare ſome pretty "little *banter (but not in verſe)*, or a ſmall treatiſe upon "the———, it would run like wild-fire. But *if it hold* "*up*, I have already hired an author to write ſomething "againſt Dr. *B—tl—y*, which I am ſure will turn to "account *."

At length we agreed upon this expedient, That, when a cuſtomer comes for one of theſe, and deſires in confidence to know the author; he will tell him very privately, as a friend, naming which ever of the wits ſhall happen to be that week in the vogue; and if Durfey's laſt play ſhould be in courſe, I had as lieve, he may be the perſon as Congreve. This I mention, becauſe I am wonderfully well acquainted with the preſent reliſh of our courteous readers; and have often obſerved, with ſingular pleaſure, that a *fly* driven from a *honey-pot* will immediately

*When Dr. Prideaux brought the copy of his Connexion of the Old and New Teſtament to the bookſeller, he told him, it was a *dry ſubject*, and the printing could not ſafely be ventured, unleſs he could *enliven it with a little humour*.

diately with very good appetite alight, and finish his meal on an *excrement*.

I have one word to say upon the subject of *profound writers*, who are grown very numerous of late; and I know very well the judicious world is resolved to list me in that number. I conceive therefore, as to the business of being *profound*, that it is with *writers* as with *wells*; a person with good eyes may see to the bottom of the deepest, provided any *water* be there; and that often when there is nothing in the world at the bottom, besides *dryness* and *dirt*, tho' it be but a yard and half under ground, it shall pass however for wondrous *deep*, upon no wiser a reason than because it is wondrous *dark*.

I am now trying an experiment very frequent among modern authors; which is, to *write upon nothing*: when the subject is utterly exhausted, to let the pen still move on; by some called, the ghost of wit, delighting to walk after the death of its body. And to say the truth, there seems to be no part of knowledge in fewer hands, than that of discerning *when to have done*. By the time that an author has writ out a book, he and his readers are become old acquaintance, and grow very loth to part; so that I have sometimes known it to be in writing, as in visiting, where the ceremony of taking leave has employed more time than the whole conversation before. The conclusion of a treatise resembles the conclusion of human life, which hath sometimes been compared to the end of a feast; where few are satisfied to depart, *ut plenus vitæ conviva*: for men will sit down after the fullest meal, tho' it be only to *doze* or to *sleep* out the rest of the day. But, in this latter, I differ extremely from other writers; and shall be too proud, if by all my labours I can have any ways contributed to the *repose* of mankind, in times so turbulent and unquiet as these†. Neither do I think such an employment so very alien from the office of a *wit*, as some would suppose. For among a very polite nation in Greece‡, there were the *same* temples built and consecrated to *sleep*

† This was writ before the peace of *Ryswick*, which was *signed* in Sept. 1697.

‡ *Trezenii*, *Pausan.* l. 2.

ſleep and the *muſes*, between which two deities they believed the ſtricteſt friendſhip was eſtabliſhed.

I have one concluding favour to requeſt of my reader, that he will not expect to be equally diverted and informed by every line or every page of this diſcourſe; but give ſome allowance to the author's ſpleen, and ſhort fits, or intervals of dulneſs, as well as his own; and lay it ſeriouſly to his conſcience, whether, if he were walking the ſtreets in dirty weather or a rainy day, he would allow it fair dealing in folks at their eaſe, from a window, to critic his gate, and ridicule his dreſs at ſuch a juncture.

In my diſpoſure of employments of the brain, I have thought fit to make *invention* the *maſter*, and to give *method* and *reaſon* the office of its *lacqueys*. The cauſe of this diſtribution was, from obſerving it my peculiar caſe, to be often under a temptation of being *witty*, upon occaſions where I could be neither *wiſe* nor *ſound*, nor any thing to the matter in hand. And I am too much a ſervant of the *modern* way, to neglect any ſuch opportunities, whatever pains or improprieties I may be at to introduce them. For I have obſerved, that, from a laborious collection of ſeven hundred thirty eight *flowers* and *ſhining hints* of the beſt *modern* authors, digeſted with great reading into my book of *common places*, I have not been able, after five years, to draw, hook, or force into common converſation, any more than a dozen. Of which dozen, the one moiety failed of ſucceſs, by being dropped among unſuitable company; and the other coſt me ſo many ſtrains, and traps, and *ambages* to introduce, that I at length reſolved to give it over. Now, this diſappointment, (to diſcover a ſecret) I muſt own, gave me the firſt hint of ſetting up for an *author*; and I have ſince found among ſome particular friends, that it is become a very general complaint, and has produced the ſame effects upon many others. For I have remarked many a *towardly word* to be wholly neglected or deſpiſed in *diſcourſe*, which hath paſſed very ſmoothly, with ſome conſideration and eſteem, after its preferment and ſanction

in *print*. But now, ſince, by the liberty and encouragement of the preſs, I am grown abſolute maſter of the occaſions and opportunities to expoſe the talents I have acquired, I already diſcover, that the *iſſues* of my *obſervanda* begin to grow too large for the *receipts*. Therefore I ſhall here pauſe a while, till I find, by feeling the world's pulſe, and my own, that it will be of abſolute neceſſity for us both to reſume my pen.

F I N I S.

A

FULL and TRUE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BATTLE

Fought, last *FRIDAY*,

BETWEEN

The ANTIENT and the MODERN

BOOKS

IN

St. *JAMES*'s LIBRARY.

THE BOOKSELLER TO THE READER.

THE following diſcourſe, as it is unqueſtionably of the ſame author, ſo it ſeems to have been written about the ſame time with the former; I mean the year 1697, when the famous diſpute was on foot, about *antient and modern learning*. The controverſy took its riſe from an eſſay of Sir William Temple's upon that ſubject; which was anſwered by W. Wotton, B. D. with an appendix by Dr. Bentley, endeavouring to deſtroy the credit of Æſop and Phalaris, for authors, whom Sir William Temple had, in the eſſay before mentioned, highly commended. In that appendix, the Doctor falls hard upon a new edition of Phalaris, put out by the honourable Charles Boyle, now Earl of Orrery; to which Mr. Boyle replied at large with great learning and wit; and the Doctor voluminouſly rejoined. In this diſpute, the town highly reſented to ſee a perſon of Sir William Temple's character and merits roughly uſed by the two reverend gentlemen aforeſaid, and without any manner of provocation. At length, there appearing no end of the quarrel, our author tells us, that the BOOKS in ST. JAMES's library, looking upon themſelves as parties principally concerned, took up the controverſy, and came to a deciſive battle; but the manuſcript,

ſcript, by the injury of fortune, or weather, being in ſeveral places imperfect, we cannot learn to which ſide the victory fell.

I muſt warn the reader, to beware of applying to perſons, what is here meant only of books in the moſt literal ſenſe. So, when Virgil is mentioned, we are not to underſtand the perſon of a famous poet called by that name; but only certain ſheets of paper, bound up in leather, containing in print the works of the ſaid poet: and ſo of the reſt.

THE

THE

PREFACE

OF THE

AUTHOR.

SATIRE is a ſort of *glaſs*, wherein beholders do generally diſcover every body's face but their own; which is the chief reaſon for that kind reception it meets in the world, and that ſo very few are offended with it. But if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, the danger is not great; and I have learned from long experience, never to apprehend miſchief from thoſe underſtandings I have been able to provoke. For anger and fury, tho' they add ſtrength to the *ſinews* of the *body*, yet are found to relax thoſe of the mind, and to render all its efforts feeble and impotent.

THERE is a *brain* that will endure but one *ſcumming*; let the owner gather it with diſcretion, and manage his little ſtock with huſbandry. But of all things let him beware of bringing it under the *laſh* of his *betters*; becauſe that will make it all bubble up into impertinence, and he will find no new ſupply: wit without knowledge being a ſort of *cream*, which gathers in a night to the top, and by a ſkilful hand may be ſoon *whipt* into *froth*; but once ſcummed away, what appears underneath will be fit for nothing, but to be thrown to the hogs.

A FULL and TRUE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BATTLE

Fought, laſt *FRIDAY*, *&c.*

WHOEVER examines with due circumſpection into the *annual records of time*, will find it remarked, that *war is the child of pride*, and *pride the daughter of riches*†. The former of which aſſertions may be ſoon granted; but one cannot ſo eaſily ſubſcribe to the latter. For *pride* is nearly related to *beggary* and *want*, either by father or mother, and ſometimes by both: and, to ſpeak naturally, it very ſeldom happens among men to fall out, when all have enough; invaſions uſually travelling from *north* to *ſouth*, that is to ſay, from poverty upon plenty. The moſt antient and natural grounds of quarrels, are *luſt* and *avarice*; which tho' we may allow to be brethren or collateral branches of *pride*, are certainly the iſſues of *want*. For, to ſpeak in the phraſe of writers upon the politics, we may obſerve in the republic of *dogs*, (which in its original ſeems to be an inſtitution

† Riches produce pride; pride is war's ground, &c. *Vid. Ephem. de* Mary Clarke; *opt. edit.*—now called *Wing*'s ſheet almanack, and printed by J. Roberts for the company of *Stationers*.

ſtitution of the *many*) that the whole ſtate is ever in the profoundeſt peace, after a full meal; and that civil broils ariſe among them, when it happens for one great *bone* to be ſeized on by ſome *leading dog*, who either divides it among the *few*, and then it falls to an *oligarchy*; or keeps it to himſelf, and then it runs up to a *tyranny*. The ſame reaſoning alſo holds place among them, in thoſe diſſenſions we behold upon a turgeſcency in any of their females. For, the right of poſſeſſion lying in common, (it being impoſſible to eſtabliſh a property in ſo delicate a caſe) jealouſies and ſuſpicions do ſo abound, that the whole commonwealth of that ſtreet is reduced to a manifeſt *ſtate of war*, of every *citizen* againſt every *citizen*; till ſome one of more courage, conduct, or fortune than the reſt, ſeizes and enjoys the prize; upon which naturally ariſes plenty of heart-burning, and envy, and ſnarling againſt the *happy dog*. Again, if we look upon any of theſe republics engaged in a foreign war, either of invaſion or defence, we ſhall find the ſame reaſoning will ſerve, as to the grounds and occaſions of each; and that *poverty*, or *want*, in ſome degree or other, (whether real, or in opinion, which makes no alteration in the caſe) has a great ſhare, as well as *pride*, on the part of the aggreſſor.

Now, whoever will pleaſe to take this ſcheme, and either reduce or adapt it to an intellectual ſtate, or commonwealth of learning, will ſoon diſcover the firſt ground of diſagreement between the two great parties at this time in arms; and may form juſt concluſions upon the merits of either cauſe. But the iſſue or events of this war are not ſo eaſy to conjecture at: for the preſent quarrel is ſo inflamed by the warm heads of either faction, and the pretenſions *ſomewhere or other* ſo exorbitant, as not to admit the leaſt overtures of accommodation. This quarrel firſt began (as I have heard it affirmed by an old dweller in the neighbourhood) about a ſmall ſpot of ground, *lying* and *being* upon one of the two tops of the hill Parnaſſus; the higheſt and largeſt of which had, it ſeems, been, time out of mind, in quiet poſſeſſion of certain tenants called the *antients*; and the other was held by the *moderns*. But theſe diſliking their preſent

ſtation

ſtation, ſent certain ambaſſadors to the *antients*, complaining of a great nuſance, how the height of that part of Parnaſſus quite ſpoiled the proſpect of theirs, eſpecially towards the *eaſt*; and therefore, to avoid a war, offered them the choice of this alternative, either that the *antients* would pleaſe to remove themſelves and their effects down to the lower ſummity, which the *moderns* would graciouſly ſurrender to them, and advance in their place; or elſe, that the ſaid *antients* will give leave to the *moderns*, to come with ſhovels and mattocks, and level the ſaid hill as low as they ſhall think it convenient. To which the *antients* made anſwer, how little they expected ſuch a meſſage as this, from a colony whom they had admitted, out of their own free grace, to ſo near a neighbourhood: that as to their own ſeat, they were *Aborigines* of it; and therefore to talk with them of a removal or ſurrender, was a language they did not underſtand: that if the height of the hill on their ſide ſhortened the proſpect of the *moderns*, it was a diſadvantage they could not help; but deſired them to conſider, whether that injury, if it be any, were not largely recompenſed by the *ſhade* and *ſhelter* it afforded them: that as to the levelling or digging down, it was either folly or ignorance to propoſe it, if they did, or did not know, how that ſide of the hill was an entire rock, which would break their tools and hearts without any damage to itſelf: that they would therefore adviſe the *moderns*, rather to raiſe their own ſide of the hill, than dream of pulling down that of the *antients*; to the former of which they would not only give licence, but alſo largely contribute. All this was rejected by the *moderns*, with much indignation; who ſtill inſiſted upon one of the two expedients. And ſo this difference broke out into a long and obſtinate war; maintained on the one part by reſolution, and by the courage of certain leaders and allies; but on the other, by the greatneſs of their number, upon all defeats affording continual recruits. In this quarrel, whole rivulets of *ink* have been exhauſted, and the virulence of both parties enormouſly augmented. Now, it muſt here be underſtood, that *ink* is the great miſſive weapon in all

battles of the *learned*, which conveyed through a sort of engine called a *quill*, infinite numbers of these are darted at the enemy, by the valiant on each side, with equal skill and violence, as if it were an engagement of *porcupines*. This malignant liquor was compounded by the engineer who invented it, of two ingredients, which are *gall* and *copperas*; by its bitterness and venom, to *suit* in some degree, as well as to foment the genius of the combatants. And as the Grecians, after an engagement, when they could not *agree* about the victory, were wont to set up trophies on both sides; the beaten party being content to be at the same expence, to keep itself in countenance, (a laudable and antient custom, happily revived of late in the art of war); so the *learned*, after a sharp and bloody dispute, do on both sides hang out their trophies too, which-ever comes by the worst. These trophies have largely inscribed on them the merits of the cause; a full impartial account of such a *battle*, and how the victory fell clearly to the party that set them up. They are known to the world under several names; as, *disputes*, *arguments*, *rejoinders*, *brief considerations*, *answers*, *replies*, *remarks*, *reflexions*, *objections*, *confutations*. For a very few days they are fixed up in all public places, either by themselves or their representatives †, for passengers to gaze at: from whence the chiefest and largest are removed to certain magazines they call *libraries*, there to remain in a quarter purposely assigned them, and from thenceforth begin to be called *books of controversy*.

In these books is wonderfully instilled, and preserved, the spirit of each warrior, while he is alive; and after his death, his soul transmigrates there, to inform them. This, at least, is the more common opinion. But I believe, it is with libraries as with other cœmeteries, where some philosophers affirm, that a certain spirit, which they call *brutum hominis*, hovers over the monument, till the body is corrupted, and turns to *dust* or to *worms*, but then vanishes or dissolves: so we may say, a restless spirit haunts over every *book*, till *dust* or *worms* have seized upon

† Their title-pages.

upon it; which to some may happen in a few days, but to others later. And therefore *books* of controversy, being of all others haunted by the most disorderly spirits, have always been confined in a separate lodge from the rest; and for fear of mutual violence against each other, it was thought prudent by our ancestors, to bind them to the peace with strong iron chains. Of which invention the original occasion was this. When the works of *Scotus* first came out, they were carried to a certain great library, and had lodgings appointed them; but this author was no sooner settled, than he went to visit his master Aristotle, and there both concerted together, to seize Plato by main force, and turn him out from his antient station among the *divines*, where he had peaceably dwelt near eight hundred years. The attempt succeeded, and the two usurpers have reigned ever since in his stead. But to maintain quiet for the future, it was decreed, That all *polemics* of the larger size should be held fast with a chain.

By this expedient, the public peace of libraries might certainly have been preserved, if a new species of controversial books had not arose of late years, instinct with a most malignant spirit, from the war above mentioned between the *learned*, about the higher summity of Parnassus.

When these two books were first admitted into the public libraries, I remember to have said upon occasion, to several persons concerned, how I was sure they would create broils where-ever they came, unless a world of care were taken; and therefore I advised, that the champions of each side should be coupled together, or otherwise mixed, that, like the blending of contrary poisons, their malignity might be employed among themselves. And it seems I was neither an ill prophet, nor an ill counsellor: for it was nothing else but the *neglect* of this caution which gave occasion to the terrible fight that happened on *Friday* last between the *antient* and *modern books* in the *King's library*. Now, because the talk of this battle is so fresh in every body's mouth, and the expectation of the town so great, to be informed in the particulars; I being possessed of all qualifications requisite in an *historian*,

" *horſes* are of our own breeding, our *arms* of our own " forging, and our *cloaths* of our own cutting out and " ſewing." Plato was by chance upon the next ſhelf, and obſerving thoſe that ſpoke to be in the ragged plight mentioned a while ago; their *jades* lean and foundered, their *weapons* of rotten wood, their *armour* ruſty, and nothing but rags underneath; he laughed loud, and, in his pleaſant way, ſwore, *by G——, he believed them.*

Now, the *moderns* had not proceeded in their late negotiation with ſecrecy enough to eſcape the notice of the enemy. For thoſe advocates who had begun the quarrel by ſetting firſt on foot the diſpute of precedency, talked ſo loud of coming to a battle, that *Temple* happened to overhear them, and gave immediate intelligence to the *antients*; who thereupon drew up their ſcattered troops together, reſolving to act upon the defenſive. Upon which ſeveral of the *moderns* fled over to their party, and among the reſt *Temple* himſelf. This *Temple* having been educated and long converſed among the *antients*, was, of all the *moderns*, their greateſt favourite, and became their greateſt champion.

THINGS were at this criſis, when a material accident fell out. For, upon the higheſt corner of a large window, there dwelt a certain *ſpider*, ſwoln up to the firſt magnitude by the deſtruction of infinite numbers of *flies*, whoſe ſpoils lay ſcattered before the gates of his palace, like human bones before the cave of ſome giant. The avenues to his caſtle were guarded with turnpikes and paliſadoes, all after the *modern* way of fortification.

AFTER you had paſſed ſeveral courts, you came to the centre, wherein you might behold the *conſtable* himſelf in his own lodgings, which had windows fronting to each avenue, and ports to ſally out upon all occaſions of prey or defence. In this manſion he had for ſome time dwelt in peace and plenty, without danger to his *perſon* by *ſwallows* from above, or to his *palace* by *brooms* from below; when it was the pleaſure of Fortune to conduct thither a wandering *bee*, to whoſe curioſity a broken pane in the glaſs had diſcovered itſelf, and in he went; where expatiating a while, he at laſt happened to alight upon

upon one of the outward walls of the *ſpider*'s citadel; which yielding to the unequal weight, ſunk down to the very foundation. Thrice he endeavoured to force his paſſage, and thrice the centre ſhook. The *ſpider* within, feeling the terrible convulſion, ſuppoſed at firſt, that *nature* was approaching to her final diſſolution; or elſe, that *Beelzebub*, with all his legions, was come to revenge the death of many thouſands of his ſubjects, whom his enemy had ſlain and devoured. However, he at length valiantly reſolved to iſſue forth and meet his fate. Mean while the *bee* had acquitted himſelf of his toils, and, poſted ſecurely at ſome diſtance, was employed in cleanſing his wings, and diſengaging them from the ragged remnants of the cobweb. By this time the *ſpider* was adventured out; when, beholding the chaſms, the ruins and dilapidations of his fortreſs, he was very near at his wit's end. He ſtormed and ſwore like a madman, and ſwelled till he was ready to burſt. At length, caſting his eye upon the *bee*, and wiſely gathering cauſes from events, (for they knew each other by ſight), "A plague "ſplit you (ſaid he) for a giddy ſon of a whore. Is it "you with a vengeance that have made this litter here? "Could not you look before you, and be d—— n'd? "Do you think I have nothing elſe to do (in the devil's "name) but to mend and repair after your arſe?" "Good words, friend, (ſaid the *bee*, having now "pruned himſelf, and being diſpoſed to drole); I'll "give you my hand and word to come near your kennel "no more: I was never in ſuch a confounded pickle "ſince I was born." "Sirrah, (replied the *ſpider*) if it "were not for breaking an old cuſtom in our family, "never to ſtir abroad againſt an enemy, I ſhould come "and teach you better manners." "I pray you have "patience (ſaid the *bee*), or you will ſpend your ſub"ſtance; and, for ought I ſee, you may ſtand in need "of it all towards the repair of your houſe." "Rogue! "rogue! (replied the *ſpider*); yet methinks you ſhould "have more reſpect to a perſon, whom all the world "allows to be ſo much your betters." "By my troth "(ſaid the *bee*) the compariſon will amount to a very "good jeſt; and you will do me a favour to let me

"know

" know the reaſons that all the world is pleaſed to uſe " in ſo hopeful a diſpute." At this, the *ſpider* having ſwelled himſelf into the ſize and poſture of a diſputant, began his argument in the true ſpirit of controverſy, with a reſolution to be heartily ſcurrilous and angry; to urge *on* his own reaſons, without the leaſt regard to the anſwers or objections of his oppoſite; and fully predetermined in his mind againſt all conviction.

" NOT to diſparage myſelf (ſaid he) by the compari- " ſon with ſuch a raſcal, what art thou but a vagabond, " without houſe or home, without ſtock or inheritance; " born to no poſſeſſion of your own, but a pair of wings " and a drone pipe? Your livelihood is an univerſal " plunder upon nature; a freebooter over fields and " gardens; and, for the ſake of ſtealing, will rob a " nettle as readily as a violet. Whereas I am a domeſtic " animal, furniſhed with a native ſtock within myſelf. " This large caſtle (to ſhew my improvement in the " Mathematics) is all built with my own hands, " and the materials extracted altogether out of my own " perſon."

" I am glad (anſwered the *bee*) to hear you grant at " leaſt, that I am come honeſtly by my wings and my " voice: for then, it ſeems, I am obliged to Heaven " alone for my flights and my muſic; and Providence " would never have beſtowed on me two ſuch gifts; " without deſigning them for the nobleſt ends. I viſit " indeed all the flowers and bloſſoms of the field and " the garden: but whatever I collect from thence, en- " riches myſelf, without the leaſt injury to their beauty, " their ſmell, or their taſte. Now, for you and your " ſkill in architecture and other mathematics, I have " little to ſay. In that building of yours, there might, " for ought I know, have been labour and method " enough; but, by woful experience for us both, 'tis too " plain the materials are nought; and I hope you will " henceforth take warning, and conſider duration and " matter, as well as method and art. You boaſt indeed " of being obliged to no other creature, but of drawing " and ſpinning out all from yourſelf; that is to ſay, if " we may judge of the liquor in the veſſel by what iſſues

" out,

" out, you poſſeſs a good plentiful ſtore of dirt and " poiſon in your breaſt. And tho' I would by no means " leſſen or diſparage your genuine ſtock of either, yet, I " doubt, you are ſomewhat obliged for an increaſe of " both to a little foreign aſſiſtance. Your inherent por- " tion of dirt does not fail of acquiſitions, by ſweepings " exhaled from below; and one inſect furniſhes you " with a ſhare of poiſon to deſtroy another. So that, " in ſhort, the queſtion comes all to this, Whether is the " nobler being of the two, that, which by a lazy con- " templation of four inches round, by an overweening " pride, which feeding and engendering on itſelf, turns " all into excrement and venom, producing nothing at " all but fly-bane and a cobweb; or that, which by an " univerſal range, with long ſearch, much ſtudy, true " judgment, and diſtinction of things, brings home " honey and wax?"

THIS diſpute was managed with ſuch eagerneſs, cla- mour, and warmth, that the two parties of *books* in arms below ſtood ſilent a while, waiting in ſuſpence what would be the iſſue. Which was not long undetermined: for the *bee*, grown impatient at ſo much loſs of time, fled ſtraight away to a bed of roſes, without looking for a reply; and left the *ſpider*, like an orator, *collected* in him- ſelf, and juſt prepared to burſt out.

IT happened upon this emergency, that Æſop broke ſilence firſt. He had been of late moſt barbarouſly treat- ed by a ſtrange effect of the *Regent's humanity*†, who had torn off his title-page, ſorely defaced one half of his leaves, and chained him faſt among a ſhelf of *moderns*. Where ſoon diſcovering how high the quarrel was like to pro- ceed, he tried all his arts, and turned himſelf to a thou- ſand forms. At length, in the borrowed ſhape of an *aſs*, the *regent* miſtook him for a *modern*; by which means, he had time and opportunity to eſcape to the *antients*, juſt when the *ſpider* and the *bee* were entering into their conteſt: to which he gave his attention with a world of pleaſure; and when it was ended, ſwore in the loudeſt key,

† Bentley, who denied the antiquity of Æſop: ſee note p. 136.

key, that, in all his life, he had never known two cases so parallel and adapt to each other, as that in the window, and this upon the shelves. "The disputants (said "he) have admirably managed the dispute between "them, have taken in the full strength of all that is to "be said on both sides, and exhausted the substance of "every argument *pro* and *con*. It is but to adjust the "reasonings of both to the present quarrel, then to "compare and apply the labours and fruits of each, as "the *bee* has learnedly deduced them; and we shall find "the conclusion fall plain and close upon the *moderns* "and *us*. For pray, gentlemen, was ever any thing so "*modern* as the *spider*, in his air, his turns, and his para-"doxes? He argues in the behalf of *you* his brethren, and "himself, with many boastings of his native stock, and "great genius; that he spins and spits wholly from him-"self, and scorns to own any obligation or assistance "from without. Then he displays to you his great skill "in architecture, and improvement in the mathematics. "To all this the *bee*, as an advocate retained by us the "*antients*, thinks fit to answer; That if one may judge "of the great genius or inventions of the *moderns*, by "what they have produced, you will hardly have coun-"tenance to bear you out in boasting of either. Erect "your schemes with as much method and skill as you "please; yet if the materials be nothing but dirt, spun "out of your own intrails, (the guts of *modern* brains,) "the edifice will conclude at last in a *cobweb*; the dura-"tion of which, like that of other *spiders* webs, may be "imputed to their being forgotten, or neglected, or "hid in a corner. For any thing else of genuine that "the *moderns* may pretend to, I cannot recollect; un-"less it be a large vein of wrangling and satire, much "of a nature and substance with the *spider*'s poison; "which, however they pretend to spit wholly out of "themselves, is improved by the same arts, by feeding "upon the *insects* and *vermin* of the age. As for *us* the "*antients*, we are content with the *bee* to pretend to no-"thing of our own, beyond our *wings* and our *voice*; "that is to say, our *flights* and our *language*. For the "rest, whatever we have got, has been by infinite la-

"bour

" bour and ſearch, and ranging thro' every corner of " nature. The difference is, that, inſtead of dirt and " poiſon, we have rather choſe to fill our hives with " *honey* and *wax*; thus furniſhing mankind with the two " nobleſt of things, which are *ſweetneſs* and *light*."

'Tis wonderful to conceive the tumult ariſen among the *books*, upon the cloſe of this long deſcant of Æſop; both parties took the hint, and heightened their animoſities ſo on a ſudden, that they reſolved it ſhould come to a battle. Immediately the two main bodies withdrew under their ſeveral enſigns, to the farther parts of the library, and there entered into cabals and conſults upon the preſent emergency. The *moderns* were in very warm debates upon the choice of their *leaders*; and nothing leſs than the fear impending from their enemies, could have kept them from mutinies upon this occaſion. The difference was greateſt among the *horſe*, where every private *trooper* pretended to the chief command, from Taſſo and Milton, to Dryden and Withers. The *light-horſe* were commanded by Cowley and Deſpreaux. * There came the *bowmen* under their valiant leaders, Des Cartes, Gaſſendi, and Hobbes; whoſe ſtrength was ſuch, that they could ſhoot their arrows beyond the *atmoſphere*, never to fall down again, but turn, like that of Evander, into *meteors*, or like the *cannon-ball*, into *ſtars*. Paracelſus brought a *ſquadron of ſtink-pot-ſlingers* from the ſnowy mountains of Rætia. There came a vaſt body of *dragoons* of different nations, under the leading of Harvey † their great *Agа*; part armed with *ſcythes*, the weapons of death; part with *lances* and long *knives*, all ſteeped in *poiſon*; part ſhot *bullets* of a moſt malignant nature, and uſed *white powder*, which infallibly killed without *report*. There came ſeveral bodies of *heavy-armed foot*, all *mercenaries*, under the enſigns of Guicciardine, Davila, Polydore, Virgil, Buchanan, Mariana, Camden, and others. The *engineers* were commanded by

* More commonly known by the name of *Boileau*.

† Doctor Harvey who diſcovered the circulation of the blood, a diſcovery much inſiſted on by the advocates for the moderns, and excepted againſt as falſe by Sir William Temple, in his eſſay, P. 44, 45.

by Regiomontanus and Wilkins. The reſt were a confuſed multitude, led by Scotus, Aquinas, and Bellarmine; of mighty bulk and ſtature, but without either arms, courage, or diſcipline. In the laſt place, came infinite ſwarms of Calones ‡, a diſorderly rout led by L'Eſtrange; rogues and raggamuffins, that follow the camp for nothing but the plunder; all without *coats* || to cover them.

THE army of the *antients* was much fewer in number. Homer led the *horſe*, and Pindar the *light horſe*; Euclid was chief *engineer*; Plato and Ariſtotle commanded the *bowmen*; Herodotus and Livy the *foot*; Hippocrates the *dragoons*; the *allies* led by Voſſius, and Temple brought up the rear.

ALL things violently tending to a deciſive battle, *fame*, who much frequented, and had a large apartment formerly aſſigned her in the *regal library*, fled up ſtrait to *Jupiter*, to whom ſhe delivered a faithful account of all that paſſed between the two parties below. (For, among the gods, ſhe always tells truth.) *Jove* in great concern, convokes a council in the *milky way*. The ſenate aſſembled: he declares the occaſion of conveening them; a bloody battle juſt impended between two mighty armies of *antient* and *modern* creatures, called *Books*, wherein the celeſtial intereſt was but too deeply concerned. Momus, the patron of the *moderns*, made an excellent ſpeech in their favour: which was anſwered by Pallas, the protectreſs of the *antients*. The aſſembly was divided in their affections; when Jupiter commanded the book of fate to be laid before him. Immediately were brought by Mercury three large volumes in folio, containing memoirs of all things paſt, preſent, and to come. The claſps were of ſilver, double gilt; the covers of celeſtial turkey-

‡ Calones. By calling this diſorderly rout *calones* the author points both his ſatyr and contempt againſt all ſorts of mercenary ſcribblers, who write as they are commanded by the leaders and patrons of ſedition, faction, corruption, and every evil work: they are ſtiled *calones* becauſe they are the meaneſt and moſt deſpicable of all writers, as the *calones*, whether belonging to the army or private families, were the meaneſt of all ſlaves or ſervants whatſoever.

|| Theſe are pamphlets, which are not bound or covered.

turkey-leather, and the paper such as here on earth might almost pass for vellum. Jupiter having silently read the decree, would communicate the import to none, but presently shut up the book.

WITHOUT the doors of this assembly, there attended a vast number of light, nimble gods, menial servants to Jupiter. These are his ministring instruments in all affairs below. They travel in a caravan, more or less together, and are fastened to each other like a link of galley-slaves, by a light chain, which passes from them to Jupiter's great toe. And yet in receiving or delivering a message, they may never approach above the lowest step of his throne, where he and they whisper to each other thro' a long hollow trunk. These deities are called by mortal men, *Accidents*, or *Events*; but the gods call them *Second Causes*. Jupiter having delivered his message to a certain number of these divinities, they flew immediately down to the pinacle of the regal library, and, consulting a few minutes, entered unseen, and disposed the parties according to their orders.

MEAN while, Momus, fearing the worst, and calling to mind an antient prophecy, which bore no very good face to his children the *moderns*, bent his flight to the region of a malignant deity, called *Criticism*. She dwelt on the top of a snowy mountain in Nova Zembla. There Momus found her extended in her den, upon the spoils of numberless volumes half devoured. At her right hand sat *Ignorance*, her father and husband, blind with age; at her left *Pride*, her mother, dressing her up in the scraps of paper herself had torn. There was *Opinion*, her sister, light of foot, hood-winked, and headstrong; yet giddy, and perpetually turning. About her played her children, *Noise*, and *Impudence*, *Dulness* and *Vanity*, *Positiveness*, *Pedantry*, and *Ill-manners*. The goddess herself had claws like a cat; her head, and ears, and voice, resembled those of an *ass*; her teeth fallen out before; her eyes turned inward, as if she looked only upon herself; her diet was the overflowing of her own *gall*; her *spleen* was so large, as to stand prominent like a dug of the first rate, nor wanted excrescences in form of teats, at which a crew of ugly monsters were greedily sucking;

and, what is wonderful to conceive, the bulk of ſpleen increaſed faſter than the ſucking could diminiſh it. "Goddeſs, (ſaid Momus,) can you ſit idle here, while "our devout worſhippers, the *moderns*, are this minute "entering into a cruel battle, and, perhaps, now "lying under the ſwords of their enemies? who then "hereafter will ever ſacrifice, or build altars to our divi-"nities? haſte therefore to the Britiſh iſle, and, if poſ-"ſible, prevent their deſtruction; while I make fa-"ctions among the gods, and gain them over to our "party."

MOMUS having thus delivered himſelf, ſtaid not for an anſwer, but left the goddeſs to her own reſentment. Up ſhe roſe in a rage; and, as it is the form upon ſuch occaſions, began a ſoliloquy. "'Tis I, (ſaid ſhe) who "give wiſdom to infants and idiots; by me children "grow wiſer than their parents; by me *beaux* become "politicians, and *ſchool-boys* judges of philoſophy: by "me ſophiſters debate, and conclude upon the depths "of knowledge; and coffee-houſe-wits inſtinct by me, "can correct an author's ſtyle, and diſplay his minuteſt "errors, without underſtanding a ſyllable of his matter "or his language; by me ſtriplings ſpend their judg-"ment, as they do their eſtate, before it comes into "their hands. 'Tis I who have depoſed wit and know-"ledge from their empire over *poetry*, and advanced my-"ſelf in their ſtead. And ſhall a few *upſtart antients* "dare to oppoſe me?—But, come, my aged parents, "and you my children dear, and thou my beauteous "ſiſter; let us aſcend my chariot, and haſte to aſſiſt our "devout *moderns*, who are now ſacrificing to us a *hea-*"*venly*, as I perceive by that grateful ſmell which from "thence reaches my noſtrils"

THE goddeſs and her train having mounted the chariot, which was drawn by *tame geeſe*, flew over infinite regions, ſhedding her influence in due places, till, at length, ſhe arrived at her beloved iſland of Britain. But, in hovering over its *metropolis*, what bleſſings did ſhe not let fall upon her ſeminaries of Greſham and † Covent-garden!

† See the notes, p. 25.

garden! And now she reached the fatal plain of St. James's library, at what time the two armies were upon the point to engage; where entering with all her caravan unseen, and landing upon a case of shelves, now desart, but once inhabited by a colony of *virtuoso*'s, she staid a while to observe the posture of both armies.

But here the tender cares of a mother began to fill her thoughts, and move in her breast. For, at the head of a troop of *modern bowmen*, she cast her eyes upon her son Wotton; to whom the fates had assigned a very short thread; Wotton, a young hero, whom an unknown father of mortal race begot by stoln embraces with this goddess. He was the darling of his mother, above all her children; and she resolved to go and comfort him. But first, according to the good old custom of deities, she cast about to change her shape; for fear the divinity of her countenance might dazzle his mortal sight, and overcharge the rest of his senses. She therefore gathered up her person into an *octavo* compass. Her body grew white and arid, and split in pieces with dryness; the thick turned into paste-board, and the thin into paper; upon which her parents and children artfully strowed a black juice or decoction of gall and soot, in form of letters; her head, and voice, and spleen, kept their primitive form; and that which before was a cover of skin, did still continue so.

In which guise she marched on towards the *moderns*, undistinguishable in shape and dress from the *divine* Bentley, Wotton's dearest friend. "Brave Wotton, "(said the goddess) why do our troops stand idle here, "to spend their present vigour, and opportunity of the "day? Away, let us haste to the Generals, and advise "to give the onset immediately." Having spoke thus, she took the ugliest of her monsters, full glutted from her spleen, and flung it invisibly into his mouth; which flying straight up into his head, squeezed out his eyeballs, gave him a distorted look, and half overturned his brain. Then she privately ordered two of her beloved children, *Dulness and Ill-manners*, closely to attend his person in all encounters. Having thus accoutred him,

ſhe vaniſhed in a miſt; and the *hero* perceived it was the goddeſs his mother.

THE deſtined hour of fate being now arrived, the fight began; whereof, before I dare adventure to make a particular deſcription, I muſt, after the example of other authors, petition for a hundred tongues, and mouths, and hands, and pens; which would all be too little to perform ſo immenſe a work. Say, goddeſs, that preſideſt over hiſtory, who it was that firſt advanced in the field of battle. Paracelſus, at the head of his *dragoons*, obſerving Galen in the adverſe wing, darted his javelin with a mighty force; which the brave antient received upon his ſhield, the point breaking in the ſecond fold. * * * *Hic pauca deſunt.*

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They bore the wounded Aga† on their ſhields to his chariot. * * *

* * * * *Deſunt nonnulla.*

* * * *

THEN Ariſtotle obſerving Bacon advance with a furious mien, drew his bow to the head, and let fly his arrow; which miſſed the valiant *modern*, and went hizzing over his head. But Des Cartes it hit: the ſteel point quickly found a *defect* in his *head-piece*; it pierced the leather, and the paſteboard, and went in at his right eye. The torture of the pain whirled the valiant *bowman* round, till death, like a ſtar of ſuperior influence, drew him into his own *vortex*. * * *

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Ingens hiatus hic in MS.

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when Homer appeared at the head of the cavalry, mounted on a furious horſe, with difficulty managed by the rider himſelf, but which no other mortal durſt approach

† Dr. Harvey, ſee the note p. 143. It was not thought proper to name his antagoniſt, but only to intimate, that he was wounded; other moderns are ſpared by the hiatus that follows, probably for ſimilar reaſons.

proach. He rode among the enemy's ranks, and bore down all before him. Say, goddeſs, whom he ſlew firſt, and whom he ſlew laſt. Firſt, Gondibert† advanced againſt him, clad in heavy armour, and mounted on a ſtaid ſober gelding, not ſo famed for his ſpeed, as his docility in kneeling, whenever his rider would mount or alight. He had made a vow to Pallas, that he would never leave the field, till he had ſpoiled Homer of his armour‡; madman! who had never once *ſeen* the wearer, nor underſtood his ſtrength. Him Homer overthrew, horſe and man, to the ground; there to be trampled and choked in the dirt. Then, with a long ſpear, he ſlew Denham, a ſtout *modern*; who, from his father's ſide, derived his lineage from Apollo, but his mother was of mortal race||. He fell, and bit the earth. The celeſtial part Apollo took, and made it a ſtar; but the terreſtrial lay wallowing upon the ground. Then Homer ſlew Weſley§ with a kick of his horſe's heel. He took Perrault by mighty force out of his ſaddle, then hurled him at Fontenelle, with the ſame blow daſhing out both their brains.

On the left wing of the horſe, Virgil appeared in ſhining armour, compleatly fitted to his body. He was mounted on a dapple grey ſteed; the ſlowneſs of whoſe pace was an effect of the higheſt mettle and vigour. He caſt his eye on the adverſe wing, with a deſire to find an object worthy of his valour; when, behold, upon a ſorrel gelding of a monſtrous ſize, appeared a foe iſſuing from among the thickeſt of the enemy's ſquadrons: but his ſpeed was leſs than his noiſe; for his horſe, old and lean, ſpent the dregs of his ſtrength in a high trot; which, tho' it made ſlow advances, yet cauſed a loud claſhing of his armour, terrible to hear. The two cavaliers had now approached within a throw of a lance; when the

† An heroic poem by Sir William Davenant, in ſtanza's of four lines.

‡ Vid. Homer.

|| Sir John Denham's poems are very unequal, extremely good, and very indifferent; ſo that his detractors ſaid, he was not the real author of *Cooper's Hill*.

§ Mr. Weſley, who wrote the Life of Chriſt in verſe, &c.

ſhe vaniſhed in a miſt; and the *hero* perceived the ſtratagem; which, as goddeſs his mother.

THE deſtined hour of fate being come, the renowned Dryden began; whereof, before I dare adventure, as one poſſeſſed with particular deſcription, I muſt make an humble entreaty together: for authors, petition for a large head; which and hands, and pens: under part, even like the Lamouſe under a canopy of ſtate, from within the pent-houſe of a and the voice was ſuited to the viſage, remote. Dryden, in a long harangue, good *antient*, called him *father*; and, by of genealogies, made it plainly appear, nearly related. Then he humbly propoange of armour, as a laſting mark of hoſpibetween them. Virgil conſented (for the goddeſs came unſeen, and caſt a miſt before his eyes) was of gold, and coſt a hundred beeves †, the but of ruſty iron. However, this glittering armour became the *modern* yet worſe than his own. Then they agreed to exchange horſes; but, when it came to the trial, Dryden was afraid, and utterly unable to mount.

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After hiatus in MS.

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Lucan appeared upon a fiery horſe, of admirable ſhape, but head-ſtrong, bearing the rider where he liſt, over the field. He made a mighty ſlaughter among the enemy's horſe; which deſtruction to ſtop, *Bl—km—re*, a famous *modern*, (but one of the *mercenaries*) ſtrenuouſly oppoſed himſelf; and darted a javelin, with a ſtrong hand, which, falling ſhort of its mark, ſtruck deep in the earth. Then Lucan threw a lance; but Æſculapius came unſeen, and turned off the point. "‡ Brave *modern* (ſaid Lucan) I perceive "ſome god protects you; for never did my arm ſo de-"ceive me before. But what mortal can contend with "a god? Therefore let us fight no longer, but preſent "gifts

† Vid. Homer.

‡ *His* ſkill as a phyſician attoned for his dulneſs as a poet.

proach. He rode among the enemy's ranks, and bore down all before him. Say, goddeſs, whom he ſlew firſt, and whom he ſlew laſt. Firſt, Gondibert † advanced againſt him, clad in heavy armour, and mounted on a ſtaid ſober gelding, not ſo famed for his ſpeed, as his docility in kneeling, whenever his rider would mount or alight. He had made a vow to Pallas, that he would never leave the field, till he had ſpoiled Homer of his armour ‡; madman! who had never once *ſeen* the wearer, nor underſtood his ſtrength. Him Homer overthrew, horſe and man, to the ground; there to be trampled and choked in the dirt. Then, with a long ſpear, he ſlew Denham, a ſtout *modern*; who, from his father's ſide, derived his lineage from Apollo, but his mother was of mortal race ||. He fell, and bit the earth. The celeſtial part Apollo took, and made it a ſtar; but the terreſtrial lay wallowing upon the ground. Then Homer ſlew Weſley § with a kick of his horſe's heel. He took Perrault by mighty force out of his ſaddle, then hurled him at Fontenelle, with the ſame blow daſhing out both their brains.

On the left wing of the horſe, Virgil appeared in ſhining armour, compleatly fitted to his body. He was mounted on a dapple grey ſteed; the ſlowneſs of whoſe pace was an effect of the higheſt mettle and vigour. He caſt his eye on the adverſe wing, with a deſire to find an object worthy of his valour; when, behold, upon a ſorrel gelding of a monſtrous ſize, appeared a foe iſſuing from among the thickeſt of the enemy's ſquadrons: but his ſpeed was leſs than his noiſe; for his horſe, old and lean, ſpent the dregs of his ſtrength in a high trot; which, tho' it made ſlow advances, yet cauſed a loud claſhing of his armour, terrible to hear. The two cavaliers had now approached within a throw of a lance; when the

† An heroic poem by Sir William Davenant, in ſtanza's of four lines.

‡ Vid. Homer.

|| Sir John Denham's poems are very unequal, extremely good, and very indifferent; ſo that his detractors ſaid, he was not the real author of *Cooper's Hill*.

§ Mr. Weſley, who wrote the Life of Chriſt in verſe, *&c.*

ſtranger deſired a parley, and lifting up the vizard of his helmet, a face hardly appeared from within; which, after a pauſe, was known for that of the renowned Dryden. The brave *antient* ſuddenly ſtarted, as one poſſeſſed with ſurpriſe and diſappointment together: for the helmet was nine times too large for the head; which appeared ſituate far in the hinder part, even like the Lady in a lobſter, or like a mouſe under a canopy of ſtate, or like a ſhrivelled beau from within the pent-houſe of a modern periwig: and the voice was ſuited to the viſage, ſounding weak and remote. Dryden, in a long harangue, ſoothed up the good *antient*, called him *father*; and, by a large deduction of genealogies, made it plainly appear, that they were nearly related. Then he humbly propoſed an exchange of armour, as a laſting mark of hoſpitality between them. Virgil conſented (for the goddeſs *Diffidence* came unſeen, and caſt a miſt before his eyes) tho' his was of gold, and coſt a hundred beeves †, the other's but of ruſty iron. However, this glittering armour became the *modern* yet worſe than his own. Then they agreed to exchange horſes; but, when it came to the trial, Dryden was afraid, and utterly unable to mount.

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After hiatus in MS.

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† Vid. Homer.

‡ His ſkill as a phyſician attoned for his dulneſs as a poet.

" gifts to each other." Lucan then beſtowed the *modern a pair of ſpurs*, and Bl—ckm—re gave Lucan *a bridle*.

* * * *

Panca deſunt. * * * *

Creech: but the goddeſs *Dulneſs* took a cloud, formed into the ſhape of Horace, armed and mounted, and placed it in a flying poſture before him. Glad was the cavalier to begin a combat with a flying foe, and purſued the image, threatening loud; till at laſt it led him to the peaceful bower of his father Ogilby; by whom he was diſarmed, and aſſigned to his repoſe.

THEN Pindar ſlew——, and ——, and Oldham, and ——, and Afra † the Amazon, light of foot; never advancing in a direct line, but wheeling with incredible agility and force, he made a terrible ſlaughter among the enemy's *light-horſe*. Him when Cowley obſerved, his generous heart burnt within him, and he advanced againſt the fierce *antient*, imitating his addreſs, and pace, and career, as well as the vigour of his horſe, and his own ſkill, would allow. When the two cavaliers had approached within the length of three javelins, firſt Cowley threw a lance; which miſſed Pindar, and paſſing into the enemy's ranks, fell ineffectual to the ground. Then Pindar darted a javelin, ſo large and weighty, that ſcarce a dozen *cavaliers*, as *cavaliers* are in our degenerate days, could raiſe it from the ground; yet he threw it with eaſe, and it went by an unerring hand ſinging thro' the air; nor could the *modern* have avoided preſent death, if he had not luckily oppoſed the ſhield that had been given him by Venus ‖. And now both heroes drew their ſwords. But the *modern* was ſo aghaſt and diſordered, that he knew not where he was; his ſhield dropt from his hands; thrice he fled, and thrice he could not eſcape. At laſt he turned, and, lifting up his hands in the poſture of a ſuppliant, " Godlike Pindar (ſaid he) ſpare my " life, and poſſeſs my horſe with theſe arms, beſides the " ranſom

† Mrs. Afra Behn, author of many plays, novels, and poems.
‖ His poem called *the Miſtreſs*.

" ranſom which my friends will give, when they hear I " am alive, and your priſoner." " Dog, (ſaid Pindar) " let your ranſom ſtay with your friends; but your car- " caſe ſhall be left for the *fowls of the air*, and the *beaſts* " *of the field*." With that, he raiſed his ſword, and, with a mighty ſtroke, cleft the wretched *modern* in twain, the ſword purſuing the blow; and one half lay panting on the ground, to be trod in pieces by the horſes feet, the other half was born by the frighted ſteed thro' the field. This ‖ Venus took, and waſhed it ſeven times in *ambroſia*; then ſtruck it thrice with a ſprig of *amarant*; upon which the leather grew round and ſoft, and the leaves turned into feathers; and being gilded before, continued gilded ſtill; ſo it became a *dove*, and ſhe harneſſed it to her chariot.

* * *

Hiatus valde de- * *
ſiendus in MS.

DAY being far ſpent, and the numerous forces of the *moderns* half inclining to a retreat, there iſſued forth from a ſquadron of their *heavy-armed foot*, a Captain, whoſe name was *Bentley* †; in perſon the moſt deformed of all the *moderns*: tall, but without ſhape or comelineſs; large, but without ſtrength or proportion. His armour was patched up of a thouſand incoherent pieces, and the ſound of it as he marched was loud and dry; like that made by the fall of a ſheet of lead, which an Eteſian wind blows ſuddenly down from the roof of ſome ſteeple. His helmet was of old ruſty iron, but the vizard was braſs, which, tainted by his breath, corrupted into

‖ I do not approve the author's judgment in this; for I think Cowley's Pindarics are much preferable to his Miſtreſs.

It may however be conſidered, that Cowley's Pindarics were but copies, of which Pindar was the original; before Pindar therefore his Pindarics might fall; and his Miſtreſs be preſerved as properly his own.

† The epiſode of Bentley and Wotton.

As the account of the Battle of the Books is an allegorical repreſentation of Sir William Temple's eſſay, in which the antients are oppoſed to the moderns; the account of Bentley and Wotton is called an *epiſode*, and their intruſion repreſented as an under action.

into copperas, nor wanted gall from the same fountain; so that, whenever provoked by anger or labour, an atramentous quality of most malignant nature was seen to distil from his lips. In his right-hand ‡ he grasped a flail, and (that he might never be unprovided of an *offensive* weapon) a vessel full of *ordure* in his left. Thus compleatly armed, he advanced with a slow and heavy pace, where the *modern* chiefs were holding a consult upon the sum of things; who, as he came onwards, laughed to behold his crooked leg and hump-shoulder, which his boot and armour vainly endeavouring to hide, were forced to comply with, and expose. The Generals made use of him for his talent of railing: which kept within government, proved frequently of great service to their cause; but at other times did more mischief than good; for at the least touch of offence, and often without any at all, he would, like a wounded elephant, convert it against his leaders. Such at this juncture was the disposition of Bentley, grieved to see the enemy prevail, and dissatisfied with every body's conduct but his own. He humbly gave the *modern* Generals to understand, that he conceived, with great submission, they were all a pack of *rogues*, and *fools*, and *sons of whores*, and *d—n'd cowards*, and *confounded loggerheads*, and *illiterate whelps*, and *nonsensical scoundrels*; that, if himself had been constituted General, those *presumptuous dogs*, the *antients*, would long before this have been beaten out of the field. "‖ You, (said he) sit here idle! but when I, or any other valiant *modern*, kill an enemy, you are sure to seize "the spoil. But I will not march one foot against the "foe, till you all swear to me, that whomever I take "or kill, his arms I shall quietly possess." Bentley having spoke thus, Scaliger bestowing him a sour look, "Miscreant prater, (said he) eloquent only in thine own "eyes, thou railest without wit, or truth, or discretion. "The malignity of thy temper perverteth nature, thy "learning makes thee more barbarous; thy body [illegible]

‡ The person here spoken of, is famous for having fly at every body without distinction, and using mean and foul [illegible]

‖ Vid. Homer. de Thersite.

" *mamity*, more *inhumane*; thy *converſe* among poets, " more *groveling*, *nary*, and *dull*. All arts of *civilizing* " others, render thee *rude* and *untractable*; *courts* have " taught thee *ill manners*, and *polite converſation* has fi- " niſhed thee a *pedant*. Beſides, a greater coward bur- " deneth not the army. But never deſpond, I paſs my " word, whatever ſpoil thou takeſt, ſhall certainly be " thy own; tho' I hope that vile carcaſe will firſt become " a prey to kites and worms."

BENTLEY durſt not reply; but half choked with ſpleen and rage, withdrew in full reſolution of performing ſome great atchievement. With him, for his aid and companion, he took his beloved WOTTON; reſolving, by policy or ſurprize, to attempt ſome neglected quarter of the *antients* army. They began their march over carcaſes of their ſlaughtered friends; then to the right of their own forces; then wheeled northward, till they came to ALDROVANDUS's tomb; which they paſſed on the ſide of the declining ſun. And now they arrived with fear towards the enemy's out-guards, looking about, if happily they might ſpy the quarters of the wounded, or ſome ſtraggling ſleepers, unarmed, and remote from the reſt. As when two *mongrel-curs*, whom *native greedineſs* and *domeſtic want* provoke, and join in partnerſhip, tho' fearful, nightly to invade the folds of ſome rich graſier; they, with tails depreſſed and lolling tongues, creep ſoft and ſlow. Mean while, the conſcious *moon*, now in her Zenith, on their guilty heads darts perpendicular rays; nor dare they bark, tho' much provoked, at her refulgent viſage, whether ſeen in puddle by reflection, or in ſphere direct; but one ſurveys the region round, while t'other ſcours the plain, if happily to diſcover at diſtance from the flock, ſome *carcaſe* half-devoured, the refuſe of gorged wolves, or ominous ravens: ſo marched this lovely loving pair of friends, nor with leſs fear and circumſpection; when at diſtance they might perceive two ſhining ſuits of armour, hanging upon an oak, and the owners not far off in a profound ſleep. The two friends drew lots, and the purſuing this adventure fell to Bentley. On he went, and in his van *Confuſion* and *Amaze*, while *Horror* and *Affright* brought up the rear. As he came

near,

near, behold two heroes of the *antients* army, Phalaris and Æsop, lay fast asleep. Bentley would fain have dispatched them both; and stealing close, aimed his flail at Phalaris's breast. But then the goddess *Affright* interposing, caught the *modern* in her icy arms, and dragged him from the danger she foresaw; for both the dormant heroes happened to turn at the same instant, tho' soundly sleeping, and busy in a dream. † For Phalaris was just that minute dreaming, how a most vile *Poetaster* had lampooned him, and how he had got him roring in his *bull*. And Æsop dreamed, that as he and the *antient chiefs* were lying on the ground, a *wild ass* broke loose, ran about trampling and kicking, and dunging in their faces. Bentley leaving the two heroes asleep, seized on both their armours, and withdrew in quest of his darling Wotton.

HE in the mean time had wandered long in search of some enterprise, till at length he arrived at a small *rivulet* that issued from a fountain hard by, called, in the language of mortal men, *Helicon*. Here he stopt, and, parched with thirst, resolved to allay it in this limpid stream. Thrice with profane hands he essayed to raise the water to his lips, and thrice it slipt all thro' his fingers. Then he stooped prone on his breast; but, ere his mouth had kissed the liquid crystal, Apollo came, and in the channel held his *shield* betwixt the *modern* and the fountain, so that he drew up nothing but *mud*. For, altho' no fountain on earth can compare with the clearness of Helicon, yet there lies at bottom a thick sediment of *slime* and *mud*; for so Apollo begged of Jupiter, as a punishment to those who durst attempt to taste it with unhallowed lips, and for a lesson to all, not to *draw too deep*, or *far from the spring*.

AT the fountain-head, Wotton discerned two heroes. The one he could not distinguish; but the other was soon known for Temple, General of the *Allies* to the *antients*. His back was turned, and he was employed in drinking large draughts in his helmet, from the fountain,

† This is according to Homer, who tells the dreams of those who were killed in their sleep.

tain, where he had withdrawn himſelf to reſt from the toils of the war. Wotton obſerving him, with quaking knees and trembling hands, ſpoke thus to himſelf. "Oh, "that I could kill this deſtroyer of our army! What re- "nown ſhould I purchaſe among the chiefs? But, to "iſſue out againſt him, man for man, ſhield againſt "ſhield, and lance againſt lance ‡, what *modern* of us "dare? for he fights like a god; and Pallas or Apollo "are ever at his elbow. But, Oh, *mother!* if what "fame reports be true, that I am the ſon of ſo great a "goddeſs, grant me to hit Temple with this lance, that "the ſtroke may ſend him to hell, and that I may return "in ſafety and triumph, laden with his ſpoils." The firſt part of his prayer the gods granted, at the interceſſion of his *mother*, and of *Momus*; but the reſt, by a perverſe wind, ſent from *Fate*, was ſcattered in the air. Then Wotton graſped his lance, and brandiſhing it thrice over his head, darted it with all his might; the *goddeſs*, his *mother*, at the ſame time, adding ſtrength to his arm. Away the lance went hizzing, and reached even to the belt of the averted *antient*; upon which lightly graſing, it fell to the ground. Temple neither felt the weapon touch him, nor heard it fall. And Wotton might have eſcaped to his army, with the honour of having emitted his lance againſt ſo great a leader, unrevenged; but Apollo, enraged that a javelin, flung by the aſſiſtance of ſo foul a *goddeſs*, ſhould pollute his fountain, put on the ſhape of ——, and ſoftly came to young Boyle, who then accompanied Temple. He pointed firſt to the lance, then to the diſtant *modern* that flung it, and commanded the young hero to take immediate revenge. Boyle, clad in a ſuit of armour which had been *given him by all the gods* ‖, immediately advanced againſt the trembling foe, who now fled before him. As a young lion in the Libyan *plains*, or Araby *deſart*, ſent by his aged ſire to hunt for prey, or health, or exerciſe; he ſcours along, wiſhing

‡ Vid. Homer.

‖ Boyle was aſſiſted in this diſpute by Dean Aldrich, Doctor Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, and others at Oxford, celebrated for their genius and their learning, then called the *Chriſt-church wits*.

wiſhing to meet ſome tyger from the mountains, or a furious boar; if chance a *wild aſs*, with brayings importune, affronts his ear, the generous beaſt, tho' lothing to diſtain his claws with blood ſo vile, yet much provok'd at the offenſive noiſe, which Echo, fooliſh nymph, like her *ill-judging ſex*, repeats much louder, and with more delight than Philomela's ſong; he vindicates the honour of the foreſt, and hunts the noiſy long-eared animal: ſo Wotton fled, ſo Boyle purſued. But Wotton, heavy-armed, and ſlow of foot, began to ſlack his courſe; when his lover Bentley appeared, returning laden with the ſpoils of the two ſleeping *antients*. Boyle obſerved him well; and ſoon diſcovering the helmet and ſhield of Phalaris his friend, both which he had lately with his own hands new-poliſhed and gilded; rage ſparkled in his eyes; and leaving his purſuit after Wotton, he furiouſly ruſhed on againſt this new approacher. Fain would he be revenged on both; but both now fled different ways. And as a woman in a little houſe, that gets a painful livelihood by ſpinning ‡, if chance her *geeſe* be ſcattered o'er the common, ſhe courſes round the plain from ſide to ſide, compelling here and there the ſtragglers to the flock; they cackle loud, and flutter o'er the champaign: ſo Boyle purſued, ſo fled this pair of friends. Finding at length their flight was vain, they bravely joined, and drew themſelves in *phalanx*. Firſt Bentley threw a ſpear with all his force, hoping to pierce the enemy's breaſt. But Pallas came unſeen, and in the air took off the point, and clapped on one of *lead*, which, after a dead bang againſt the enemy's ſhield, fell blunted to the ground. Then Boyle, obſerving well his time, took a lance, of wondrous length and ſharpneſs; and, as this pair of friends compacted ſtood cloſe ſide to ſide, he wheeled him to the right, and with unuſual force darted the weapon. Bentley ſaw his fate approach; and ſtanking down his arms cloſe to his ribs, hoping to ſave his body, in went

‡ This is alſo after the manner of Homer, the woman's getting a painful livelihood by ſpinning has nothing to do with the ſimilitude, nor would be excuſable without ſuch an authority.
Vid. Homer.

the point, paſſing thro' arm and ſide; nor ſtopt, or ſpent its force, till it had alſo pierced the valiant Wotton; who going to ſuſtain his dying friend, ſhared his fate. As when a ſkilful cook has truſſed a brace of *woodcocks*, he, with iron-ſkewer, pierces the tender ſides of both, their legs and wings cloſe pinioned to their ribs: ſo was this pair of friends transfixed, till down they fell, joined in their lives, joined in their deaths; ſo cloſely joined, that Charon would miſtake them both for one, and waft them over Styx for half his fare. Farewel, beloved, loving pair; few equals have you left behind: and happy and immortal ſhall you be, if all my wit and eloquence can make you ſo.

AND, now

Deſunt cætera.

F I N I S.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

Mechanical Operation

OF THE

SPIRIT.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

A FRAGMENT.

THE BOOKSELLER's ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Diſcourſe came into my hands perfect and entire. But there being ſeveral things in it which the preſent age would not very well bear, I kept it by me ſome years, reſolving it ſhould never ſee the light. At length, by the advice and aſſiſtance of a judicious friend, I retrenched thoſe parts that might give moſt offence, and have now ventured to publiſh the remainder. Concerning the Author, I am wholly ignorant: neither can I conjecture, whether it be the ſame with that of the two foregoing pieces; the original having been ſent me at a different time, and in a different hand. The learned Reader will better determine; to whoſe judgment I entirely ſubmit it.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

MECHANICAL OPERATION

OF THE

SPIRIT.

For T. H. *Eſq;* * *at his chambers in the Academy of the* Beaux Eſprits *in New-England.*

SIR,

IT is now a good while ſince I have had in my head ſomething, not only very material, but abſolutely neceſſary to my health, that the world ſhould be informed in. For, to tell you a ſecret, I am able to *contain* it no longer. However, I have been perplexed for ſome time, to reſolve what would be the moſt proper form to

* Suppoſed to be Col. *Hunter*, author of the Letter of Enthuſiaſm, mentioned in the Apology for the Tale of a Tub.

This diſcourſe is not altogether equal to the two former, the beſt parts of it being omitted; whether the bookſeller's account be true, that he durſt not print the reſt, I know not, nor indeed is it eaſy to determine, whether he may be relied on in any thing he ſays of this, or the former treatiſes, only as to the time they were writ in; which, however, appears more from the diſcourſes themſelves, than his relation.

ſend it abroad in. To which end, I have been three days courſing through Weſtminſter-hall, and St. Paul's Church-yard, and Fleet-ſtreet, to peruſe *titles*; and I do not find any which holds ſo general a vogue, as that of *A letter to a Friend.* Nothing is more common than to meet with long epiſtles addreſſed to perſons and places, where, at firſt thinking, one would be apt to imagine it not altogether ſo neceſſary or convenient; ſuch as, *a neighbour at next door, a mortal enemy, a perfect ſtranger,* or *a perſon of quality in the clouds*; and theſe upon ſubjects, in appearance, the leaſt proper for conveyance by the poſt; as, *long ſchemes in philoſophy, dark and wonderful myſteries of ſtate. laborious diſſertations in criticiſm and philoſophy, advice to parliaments,* and the like.

Now, Sir, to proceed after the method in preſent wear: (for, let me ſay what I will to the contrary, I am afraid you will publiſh this *letter*, as ſoon as ever it comes to your hands): I deſire you will be my witneſs to the world, how careleſs and ſudden a ſcribble it has been; that it was but yeſterday, when you and I began accidentally to fall into diſcourſe on this matter; that I was not very well when we parted; that the poſt is in ſuch haſte, I have had no manner of time to digeſt it into order, or correct the ſtyle: and if any other modern excuſes, for haſte and negligence, ſhall occur to you in reading, I beg you to inſert them, faithfully promiſing they ſhall be thankfully acknowledged.

PRAY, Sir, in your next letter to the *Iroquois Virtuoſi*, do me the favour to preſent my humble ſervice to that illuſtrious body; and aſſure them, I ſhall ſend an account of thoſe *phænomena*, as ſoon as we can determine them at Greſham.

I have not had a line from the *literati* of *Tobinambu* theſe three laſt ordinaries.

AND now, Sir, having diſpatched what I had to ſay of forms, or of buſineſs, let me intreat, you will ſuffer me to proceed upon my ſubject; and to pardon me if I make no farther uſe of the epiſtolary ſtyle, till I come to conclude.

SECT.

SECT. I.

IT is recorded of Mahomet, that upon a viſit he was going to pay in *paradiſe*, he had an offer of ſeveral vehicles to conduct him upwards; as, fiery chariots, winged horſes, and celeſtial ſedans: but he refuſed them all, and would be born to heaven upon nothing but his *aſs*. Now, this inclination of Mahomet, as ſingular as it ſeems, hath been ſince taken up by a great number of devout Chriſtians; and doubtleſs with very good reaſon. For ſince that Arabian is known to have borrowed a moiety of his religious ſyſtem from the Chriſtian faith, it is but juſt he ſhould pay repriſals to ſuch as would challenge them; wherein the good people of England, to do them all right, have not been backward. For tho' there is not any other nation in the world ſo plentifully provided with carriages for that journey, either as to ſafety or eaſe: yet there are abundance of us, who will not be ſatisfied with any other machine, beſides this of Mahomet.

FOR my own part, I muſt confeſs to bear a very ſingular reſpect to this animal, by whom I take human nature to be moſt admirably held forth in all its qualities as well as operations: and therefore, whatever in my ſmall reading occurs concerning this our fellow-creature, I do never fail to ſet it down, by way of common-place; and when I have occaſion to write upon human reaſon, politics, eloquence, or knowledge, I lay my *memorandums* before me, and inſert them with a wonderful facility of application. However, among all the qualifications aſcribed to this diſtinguiſhed brute, by antient or modern authors, I cannot remember this talent of bearing his rider to heaven, has been recorded for a part of his character, except in the two examples mentioned already; therefore I conceive the methods of this art to be a point of uſeful knowledge in very few hands, and which the learned world would gladly be better informed in: this is what I have undertaken to perform in the following diſcourſe. For towards the operation already mentioned, many peculiar properties are required, both in the *rider*

and

and the *aſs*; which I ſhall endeavour to ſet in as clear a light as I can.

But, becauſe I am reſolved, by all means, to avoid giving offence to any party whatever, I will leave off diſcourſing ſo cloſely to the *letter* as I have hitherto done, and go on for the future by way of allegory, tho' in ſuch a manner, that the judicious reader may, without much ſtraining, make his applications as often as he ſhall think fit. Therefore, if you pleaſe, from henceforward, inſtead of the term *aſs*, we ſhall make uſe of *gifted* or *inlightened teacher*; and the word *rider*, we will exchange for that of *fanatic auditory*, or any other denomination of the like import. Having ſettled this weighty point, the great ſubject of inquiry before us, is, to examine, by what methods this *teacher* arrives at his *gifts*, or *ſpirit*, or *light*; and by what intercourſe between him and his aſſembly it is cultivated and ſupported.

In all my writings, I have had conſtant regard to this great end, not to ſuit and apply them to particular occaſions and circumſtances of time, of place, or of perſon; but to calculate them for univerſal nature, and mankind in general. And of ſuch catholic uſe I eſteem this preſent diſquiſition: for I do not remember any other temper of body, or quality of mind, wherein all nations and ages of the world have ſo unanimouſly agreed, as that of a *fanatic* ſtrain, or tincture of *enthuſiaſm*; which, improved by certain perſons or ſocieties of men, and by them practiſed upon the reſt, has been able to produce revolutions of the greateſt figure in hiſtory; as will ſoon appear to thoſe who know any thing of Arabia, Perſia, India, or China, of Morocco and Peru. Farther, it has poſſeſſed as great a power in the kingdom of knowledge, where it is hard to aſſign one art or ſcience, which has not annexed to it ſome *fanatic* branch: ſuch are the *philoſopher's ſtone*, *the grand elixir* †. *the planetary worlds*, *the ſquaring of the circle*, *the ſummum bonum*, *Utopian commonwealths*, with ſome others of leſs or ſubordinate note; which all ſerve for nothing elſe, but to employ or amuſe this grain of *enthuſiaſm*, dealt into every compoſition.

But

† Some writers hold them for the ſame, others not.

But if this plant has found a root in the fields of *empire* and of *knowledge*, it has fixed deeper, and ſpread yet farther upon *holy ground*: wherein, tho' it hath paſſed under the general name of *enthuſiaſm*, and perhaps ariſen from the ſame original; yet hath it produced certain branches of a very different nature, however often miſtaken for each other. The word, in its univerſal acceptation, may be defined, *A lifting up of the ſoul or its faculties above matter*. This deſcription will hold good in general: but I am only to underſtand it as applied to *religion*; wherein there are three general ways of ejaculating the ſoul, or tranſporting it beyond the ſphere of matter. The firſt is the immediate act of God, and is called *prophecy* or *inſpiration*. The ſecond is the immediate act of the devil, and is termed *poſſeſſion*. The third is the product of natural cauſes; the effect of ſtrong imagination, ſpleen, violent anger, fear, grief, pain, and the like. Theſe three have been abundantly treated on by authors, and therefore ſhall not employ my inquiry. But the fourth method of *religious enthuſiaſm*, or launching out of the ſoul, as it is purely an effect of artifice and *mechanic operation*, has been ſparingly handled, or not at all, by any writer; becauſe tho' it is an art of great antiquity, yet, having been confined to few perſons, it long wanted thoſe advancements and refinements which it afterwards met with, ſince it has grown ſo epidemic, and fallen into ſo many cultivating hands.

It is therefore upon this *mechanical operation of the ſpirit* that I mean to treat, as it is at preſent performed by our Britiſh *workmen*. I ſhall deliver to the reader the reſult of many judicious obſervations upon the matter; tracing, as near as I can, the whole courſe and method of this *trade*; producing parallel inſtances, and relating certain diſcoveries that have luckily fallen in my way.

I have ſaid that there is one branch of *religious enthuſiaſm*, which is purely an effect of nature; whereas the part I mean to handle, is wholly an effect of art; which, however, is inclined to work upon certain natures and conſtitutions, more than others. Beſides, there is many an operation, which, in its original, was purely an artifice; but, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, hath grown to be natural.

natural. Hippocrates tells us, that among our ancestors the Scythians, there was a nation called *long-heads* *, which at first began by a custom among midwives and nurses of molding, and squeezing, and bracing up the heads of infants; by which means, nature shut out at one passage, was forced to seek another, and finding room above, shot upwards, in the form of a sugar-loaf; and being diverted that way, for some generations, at last found it out of herself, needing no assistance from the nurse's hand. This was the original of the Scythian *long-heads*; and thus did custom, from being a second nature, proceed to be a first. To all which there is something very analogous among us of this nation, who are the undoubted posterity of that refined people. For, in the age of our fathers, there arose a generation of men in this island, called *round-heads* †, whose race is now spread over three kingdoms; yet, in its beginning, was merely an operation of art, produced by a pair of scissars, a squeeze of the face, and a black cap. These heads, thus formed into a perfect sphere in all assemblies, were most exposed to the view of the female sort; which did influence their conceptions so effectually, that nature, at last, took the hint, and did it of herself; so that a *round-head* has been ever since as familiar a sight among us, as a *long-head* among the Scythians.

Upon these examples, and others easy to produce, I desire the curious reader to distinguish, first, between an effect grown from *art* into *nature*, and one that is natural from its beginning; secondly, between an effect wholly natural, and one which has only a natural foundation, but where the superstructure is entirely artificial. For the first and the last of these, I understand to come within the districts of my subject. And having obtained these

* Macrocephali.

† The Fanatics in the time of Charles I. ignorantly applying the text, "Ye know that it is a shame for men to have "long hair," cut theirs very short. It is said, that the Queen once seeing Pym, a celebrated patriot, thus cropped, inquired what that *round-headed* man was, and that from this incident the distinction became general, and the party were called *round-heads*.

theſe allowances, they will ſerve to remove any objections that may be raiſed hereafter againſt what I ſhall advance.

The practitioners of this famous art proceed in general upon the following fundamental, That *the corruption of the ſenſes is the generation of the ſpirit*; becauſe the *ſenſes* in men are ſo many avenues to the fort of *reaſon*, which in this operation is wholly blocked up. All endeavours muſt be therefore uſed, either to divert, bind up, ſtupify, fluſter, and amuſe the *ſenſes*, or elſe to juſtle them out of their ſtations; and while they are either abſent, or otherwiſe employed, or engaged in a civil war againſt each other, the ſpirit enters, and performs its part.

Now, the uſual methods of managing the ſenſes upon ſuch conjunctures, are what I ſhall be very particular in delivering, as far as it is lawful for me to do; but having had the honour to be initiated into the myſteries of every ſociety, I deſire to be excuſed from divulging any rites, wherein the *profane* muſt have no part.

But here, before I can proceed farther, a very dangerous objection muſt, if poſſible, be removed. For it is poſitively denied by certain critics, that the *ſpirit* can by any means be introduced into an aſſembly of modern ſaints; the diſparity being ſo great, in many material circumſtances, between the primitive way of inſpiration, and that which is practiſed in the preſent age. This they pretend to prove from the 2d chapter of the *Acts*, where, comparing both, it appears, firſt, that the *Apoſtles were gathered together with one accord in one place*; by which is meant, an univerſal agreement in opinion, and form of worſhip; a harmony (ſay they) ſo far from being found between any two conventicles among us, that it is in vain to expect it between any two heads in the ſame. Secondly, The *ſpirit* inſtructed the Apoſtles in the gift of ſpeaking ſeveral languages; a knowledge ſo remote from our dealers in this art, that they neither underſtand propriety of words or phraſes in their own. Laſtly, (ſay theſe objectors) the modern artiſts do utterly exclude all approaches of the *ſpirit*, and bar up its antient way of entering, by covering themſelves ſo cloſe, and ſo induſtriouſly a-top. For they will needs have it as a point

point clearly gained, that the *cloven tongues* never ſat upon the Apoſtles heads, while their hats were on.

Now, the force of theſe objections ſeems to conſiſt in the different acceptation of the word *ſpirit*; which if it be underſtood for a ſupernatural aſſiſtance, approaching from without, the objectors have reaſon, and their aſſertions may be allowed: but the *ſpirit* we treat of here, proceeding entirely from within, the argument of theſe adverſaries is wholly eluded. And, upon the ſame account, our modern artificers find it an expedient of abſolute neceſſity, to cover their heads as cloſe as they can, in order to prevent perſpiration; than which nothing is obſerved to be a greater ſpender of mechanic light, as we may perhaps farther ſhew in convenient place.

To proceed therefore upon the *phænomenon of ſpiritual mechaniſm*, it is here to be noted, that, in forming and working up the *ſpirit*, the aſſembly has a conſiderable ſhare, as well as the preacher. The method of this *arcanum* is as follows. They violently ſtrain their eyeballs inward, half cloſing the lids; then, as they ſit, they are in a perpetual motion of *ſee-ſaw*, making long hums at proper periods, and continuing the ſound at equal height; chuſing their time in thoſe intermiſſions, while the preacher is at ebb. Neither is this practice in any part of it ſo ſingular or improbable, as not to be traced, in diſtant regions, from reading and obſervation. For, firſt, the Jauguis †, or enlightened ſaints of India, ſee all their viſions by help of an acquired ſtraining and preſſure of the eyes. Secondly, The art of *ſee-ſaw* on a beam, and ſwinging by ſeſſion upon a cord, in order to raiſe artificial ecſtaſies, hath been derived to us from our Scythian anceſtors ‡, where it is practiſed at this day among the women. Laſtly, The whole proceeding, as I have here related it, is performed by the natives of Ireland, with a conſiderable improvement; and it is granted, that this noble nation hath of all others admitted fewer corruptions, and degenerated leaſt from the purity of the old Tartars. Now, it is uſual for a knot of Iriſh men

† *Bernier, mem. de Mogol.*
‡ *Guagnini, hiſt. Sarmat.*

men and women, to abſtract themſelves from matter, bind up all their ſenſes, grow viſionary and ſpiritual, by influence of a ſhort pipe of tobacco, handed round the company; each preſerving the ſmoke in his mouth, till it comes again to his turn to take in freſh. At the ſame time, there is a concert of a continued gentle hum, repeated and renewed by inſtinct, as occaſion requires; and they move their bodies up and down, to a degree, that ſometimes their heads and points ly parallel to the horizon. Mean while, you may obſerve their eyes turned up in the poſture of one who endeavours to keep himſelf awake; by which, and many other ſymptoms among them, it manifeſtly appears, that the reaſoning faculties are all ſuſpended and ſuperſeded; that imagination hath uſurped the ſeat, ſcattering a thouſand deliriums over the brain. Returning from this digreſſion, I ſhall deſcribe the methods by which the *ſpirit* approaches. The eyes being diſpoſed according to art, at firſt you can ſee nothing; but, after a ſhort pauſe, a ſmall glimmering light begins to appear, and dance before you. Then, by frequently moving your body up and down, you perceive the vapours to aſcend very faſt, till you are perfectly doſed, and fluſtered like one who drinks too much in a morning. Mean while, the preacher is alſo at work; he begins a loud hum, which pierces you quite through: this is immediately returned by the audience; and you find yourſelf prompted to imitate them, by a mere ſpontaneous impulſe, without knowing what you do. The *interſtitia* are duly filled up by the preacher, to prevent too long a pauſe, under which the *ſpirit* would ſoon faint and grow languid.

THIS is all I am allowed to diſcover about the progreſs of the *ſpirit*, with relation to that part which is born by the *aſſembly*; but in the methods of the preacher, to which I now proceed, I ſhall be more large and particular.

SECT. II.

YOU will read it very gravely remarked in the books of thoſe illuſtrious and right eloquent penmen, the modern travellers, that the fundamental difference in point of religion between the wild Indians and us, lies in this; that we worſhip *God*, and they worſhip the *devil*. But there are certain critics, who will by no means admit of this diſtinction; rather believing, that all nations whatſoever adore the *true God*, becauſe they ſeem to intend their devotions to ſome inviſible power, of greateſt *goodneſs* and *ability* to help them; which perhaps will take in the brighteſt attributes aſcribed to the Divinity. Others again inform us, that thoſe idolaters adore two *principles*; the *principle of good*, and that of *evil:* which indeed I am apt to look upon as the moſt univerſal notion that mankind, by the mere light of nature, ever entertained of things inviſible. How this idea hath been managed by the Indians and us, and with what advantage to the underſtandings of either, may well deſerve to be examined. To me the difference appears little more than this, that they are put oftener upon their knees by their *fears*, and we by our *deſires*; that the former ſet them *a-praying*, and us *a-curſing*. What I applaud them for, is their diſcretion, in limiting their devotions and their deities to their ſeveral diſtricts; nor ever ſuffering the liturgy of the *white* god, to croſs or to interfere with that of the *black*. Not ſo with us; who, pretending, by the lines and meaſures of our reaſon, to extend the dominion of one inviſible power, and contract that of the other, have diſcovered a groſs ignorance in the natures of good and evil, and moſt horribly confounded the frontiers of both. After men have lifted up the throne of their divinity to the *cælum empyræum*, adorned with all ſuch qualities and accompliſhments as themſelves ſeem moſt to value and poſſeſs; after they have ſunk their *principle of evil* to the loweſt centre, bound him with chains, loaded him with curſes, furniſhed him with viler diſpoſitions than any *rake-hell* of the town, accoutred him with tail and horns,

horns, and huge claws, and ſaucer eyes; I laugh aloud to ſee theſe reaſoners at the ſame time engaged in wiſe diſpute about certain walks and purlieus, whether they are in the verge of God or the devil: ſeriouſly debating, whether ſuch and ſuch influences come into mens minds from above or below, whether certain paſſions and affections are guided by the evil ſpirit or the good:

Dum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Diſcernunt avidi.———

Thus do men eſtabliſh a fellowſhip of *Chriſt* with Belial, and ſuch is the analogy they make between *cloven tongues* and *cloven feet*. Of the like nature is the diſquiſition before us. It hath continued theſe hundred years an even debate, whether the deportment and the cant of our Engliſh enthuſiaſtic preachers were *poſſeſſion* or *inſpiration*; and a world of argument has been drained on either ſide, perhaps to little purpoſe. For I think it is in *life* as in *tragedy*, where it is held a conviction of great defect, both in order and invention, to interpoſe the aſſiſtance of preternatural power, without an abſolute and laſt neceſſity. However, it is a ſketch of human vanity, for every individual to imagine the whole univerſe is intereſted in his meaneſt concern. If he hath got cleanly over a kennel, ſome angel unſeen deſcended on purpoſe to help him by the hand; if he hath knocked his head againſt a poſt, it was the devil, for his ſins, let looſe from hell on purpoſe to buffet him. Who, that ſees a little paltry mortal, droning, and dreaming, and driveling to a multitude, can think it agreeable to common good ſenſe, that either heaven or hell ſhould be put to the trouble of influence or inſpection upon what he is about? Therefore I am reſolved immediately to weed this error out of mankind, by making it clear, that this myſtery of vending ſpiritual gifts, is nothing but a *trade*, acquired by as much inſtruction, and maſtered by equal practice and application, as others are. This will beſt appear by deſcribing and deducing the whole proceſs of the operation, as variouſly as it hath fallen under my knowledge or experience.

Here the whole ſcheme of ſpiritual mechaniſm was deduced and explained, with an appearance of great reading and obſervation; but it was thought neither ſafe nor convenient to print it.

HERE it may not be amiſs to add a few words upon the laudable practice of wearing *quilted caps*; which is not a matter of mere cuſtom, humour, or faſhion, as ſome would pretend, but an inſtitution of great ſagacity and uſe. Theſe, when moiſtened with ſweat, ſtop all perſpiration; and, by reverberating the heat, prevent the ſpirit from evaporating any way but at the mouth; even as a ſkilful houſe-wife that covers her ſtill with a wet clout for the ſame reaſon, and finds the ſame effect. For it is the opinion of choice *virtuoſi*, that the brain is only a croud of little animals, but with teeth and claws extremely ſharp, and therefore cling together in the contexture we behold, like the picture of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, or like bees in perpendicular ſwarm upon a tree, or like a carrion corrupted into vermin, ſtill preſerving the ſhape and figure of the mother animal: that all invention is formed by the morſure of two or more of theſe animals, upon certain capillary nerves, which proceed from thence; whereof three branches ſpread into the tongue, and two into the right hand. They hold alſo, that theſe animals are of a conſtitution extremely cold; that their food is the air we attract, their excrement phlegm; and that what we vulgarly call rheums, and colds, and diſtillations, is nothing elſe but an epidemical looſeneſs, to which that little commonwealth is very ſubject, from the climate it lies under. Farther, that nothing leſs than a violent heat can diſintangle theſe creatures from their hamated ſtation of life, or give them vigour and humour to imprint the marks of their little teeth: that, if the morſure be hexagonal, it produces poetry; the circular gives eloquence; if the bite hath been conical, the perſon whoſe nerve is ſo affected, ſhall be diſpoſed to write upon politics; and ſo of the reſt.

I shall now discourse briefly, by what kind of practices the voice is best governed, towards the composition and improvement of the *spirit*; for without a competent skill in tuning and toning each word, and syllable, and letter, to their due cadence, the whole operation is incompleat, misses entirely of its effect on the hearers, and puts the workman himself to continual pains for new supplies, without success. For it is to be understood, that, in the language of the spirit, *cant* and *droning* supply the place of *sense* and *reason*, in the language of men; because, in spiritual harangues, the disposition of the words according to the art of grammar, hath not the least use, but the skill and influence wholly lie in the choice and cadence of the syllables; even as a discreet *composer*, who, in setting a song, changes the words and order so often, that he is forced to make it *nonsense*, before he can make it *music*. For this reason it hath been held by some, that the art of canting is ever in greatest perfection when managed by *ignorance*; which is thought to be enigmatically meant by Plutarch, when he tells us, that the best musical instrument were made from the bones of an *ass*. And the profounder critics upon that passage are of opinion, the word, in its genuine signification, means no other than a *jaw-bone*; tho' some rather think it to have been the *os sacrum*. But, in so nice a case, I shall not take upon me to decide; the curious are at liberty to *pick* from it whatever they please.

The first ingredient towards the art of canting, is a competent share of *inward light*; that is to say, a large memory, plentifully fraught with theological polysyllables, and mysterious texts from holy writ, applied and digested by those methods and mechanical operations already related; the bearers of this *light* resembling *lanthorns*, compact of leaves from old Geneva Bibles: which invention Sir Humphrey Edwin, during his mayoralty, of happy memory, highly approved and advanced; affirming the Scripture to be now fulfilled, where it says, *Thy word is a lanthorn to my feet, and a light to my paths.*

Now, the art of *canting* consists in skilfully adapting the voice to whatever words the spirit delivers, that each may strike the ears of the audience with its most signifi-

cant cadence. The force or energy of this eloquence is not to be found, as among antient orators, in the diſpoſition of words to a ſentence, or the turning of long periods; but, agreeably to the modern refinements in muſic, is taken up wholly in dwelling and dilating upon ſyllables and letters. Thus it is frequent for a ſingle *vowel* to draw ſighs from a multitude; and for a whole aſſembly of ſaints, to ſob to the muſic of one ſolitary *liquid*. But theſe are trifles, when even ſounds inarticulate are obſerved to produce as forcible effects. A maſter workman ſhall *blow his noſe ſo powerfully*, as to pierce the hearts of his people, who are diſpoſed to receive the *excrements* of his brain, with the ſame reverence as the *iſſue* of it. Hawking, ſpitting, and belching, the defects of other mens rhetoric, are the flowers, and figures, and ornaments of his. For the *ſpirit* being the ſame in all, it is of no import thro' what vehicle it is conveyed.

It is a point of too much difficulty, to draw the principles of this famous art within the compaſs of certain adequate rules. However, perhaps I may one day oblige the world with my critical eſſay upon the art of *canting, philoſophically, phyſically, and muſically conſidered.*

But, among all improvements of the *ſpirit*, wherein the voice hath born a part, there is none to be compared with that of *conveying the ſound thro' the noſe*, which, under the denomination of *ſnuffling* *, hath paſſed with ſo great applauſe in the world. The originals of this inſtitution are very dark; but having been initiated into the myſtery of it, and leave being given me to publiſh it to the world, I ſhall deliver as direct a relation as I can.

This art, like many other famous inventions, owed its birth, or at leaſt improvement and perfection, to an effect of chance; but was eſtabliſhed upon ſolid reaſons, and hath flouriſhed in this iſland ever ſince with great luſtre. All agree, that it firſt appeared upon the decay and diſcouragement of *bag-pipes*; which, having long ſuffered under the mortal hatred of the *brethren*, tottered for

* The *ſnuffling* of men who have loſt their noſes by lewd courſes, is ſaid to have given riſe to that tone, which our Diſſenters did too much affect. *W. Wotton.*

for a time, and at laſt fell with *monarchy*. The ſtory is thus related.

As yet *ſnuffling* was not; when the following adventure happened to a *Banbury ſaint*. Upon a certain day, while he was far engaged among the tabernacles of the *wicked*, he felt the outward man put into odd commotions, and ſtrangely pricked forward by the inward: an effect very uſual among the modern inſpired. For ſome think, that the *ſpirit* is apt to feed on the fleſh, like hungry wines upon raw beef. Others rather believe, there is a perpetual game at *leap-frog* between both; and ſometimes the *fleſh* is uppermoſt, and ſometimes the *ſpirit*: adding, that the former while it is in the ſtate of a *rider*, wears huge *rippon* ſpurs, and when it comes to the turn of being *bearer*, is wonderfully headſtrong and hard-mouthed. However it came about, the *ſaint* felt his *veſſel* full extended in every part, (a very natural effect of ſtrong *inſpiration*); and the place and time falling out ſo unluckily, that he could not have the convenience of evacuating upwards, by repetition, prayer or lecture, he was forced to open an inferior vent. In ſhort, he wreſtled with the fleſh ſo long, that he at length ſubdued it, coming off with honourable wounds all *before*. The ſurgeon had now cured the parts primarily affected; but the diſeaſe, driven from its poſt, flew up into his head: and, as a ſkilful general, valiantly attacked in his trenches, and beaten from the field, by flying marches withdraws to the capital city, breaking down the bridges to prevent purſuit; ſo the diſeaſe, repelled from its firſt ſtation, fled before the rod of Hermes to the upper region, there fortifying itſelf; but finding the foe making attacks at the *noſe*, broke down the *bridge*, and retired to the head-quarters. Now, the naturaliſts obſerve, that there is in human noſes an *idioſyncracy*, by virtue of which, the more the paſſage is obſtructed, the more our ſpeech delights to go thro', as the muſic of a flagelet is made by the *ſtops*. By this method, the twang of the noſe becomes perfectly to reſemble the *ſnuffle* of a bag-pipe, and is found to be equally attractive of Britiſh ears; whereof the ſaint had ſudden experience, by practiſing his new faculty with wonderful ſucceſs in the operation of the *ſpirit*:

ſpirit: for, in a ſhort time, no doctrine paſſed for ſound and orthodox, unleſs it were delivered thro' the noſe. Straight every paſtor copied after this original; and thoſe who could not otherwiſe arrive to a perfection, ſpirited by a noble zeal, made uſe of the ſame experiment to acquire it. So that I think it may be truly affirmed, the *ſaints* owe their empire to the *ſnuffling* of one *animal*, as Darius did his to the *neighing* of another; and both ſtratagems were performed by the ſame art; for we read, how the *Perſian beaſt* acquired his faculty by *covering a mare* the day before †.

I ſhould now have done, if I were not convinced, that whatever I have yet advanced upon this ſubject, is liable to great exception. For, allowing all I have ſaid to be true, it may ſtill be juſtly objected, That there is in the commonwealth of *artificial enthuſiaſm* ſome real foundation for art to work upon, in the temper and complexion of individuals, which other mortals ſeem to want. Obſerve but the geſture, the motion, and the countenance of ſome choice profeſſors, tho' in their moſt familiar actions, you will find them of a different race from the reſt of human creatures. Remark your commoneſt pretender to a light *within*, how dark, and dirty, and gloomy he is *without*: as lanthorns, which, the more light they bear in their bodies, caſt ſo much the more ſoot, and ſmoke, and fuliginous matter to adhere to the ſides. Liſten but to their ordinary talk, and look on the mouth that delivers it; you will imagine you are hearing ſome ancient oracle, and your underſtanding will be *equally* informed. Upon theſe and the like reaſons, certain objectors pretend to put it beyond all doubt, that there muſt be a ſort of preternatural *ſpirit* poſſeſſing the heads of the modern ſaints; and ſome will have it to be the *heat* of zeal, working upon the *dregs* of ignorance, as other *ſpirits* are produced from *lees* by the force of fire. Some again think, that when our earthly tabernacles are diſordered and deſolate, ſhaken, and out of repair, the *ſpirit* delights to dwell within them, as houſes are ſaid to be haunted, when they are forſaken and gone to decay.

To

† Herodot.

To ſet this matter in as fair a light as poſſible, I ſhall here very briefly deduce the hiſtory of *fanaticiſm*, from the moſt early ages to the preſent. And if we are able to fix upon any one material or fundamental point, wherein the chief profeſſors have univerſally agreed, I think we may reaſonably lay hold on that, and aſſign it for the great ſeed or principle of the *ſpirit*.

The moſt early traces we meet with of *fanatics* in antient ſtory, are among the Ægyptians; who inſtituted thoſe rites known in Greece by the names of *Orgia*, *Panegyres*, and *Dionyſia*; whether introduced there by Orpheus or Melampus, we ſhall not diſpute at preſent, nor in all likelihood, at any time for the future. Theſe feaſts were celebrated to the honour of Oſyris, whom the Grecians called Dionyſius, and is the ſame with Bacchus †. Which has betrayed ſome ſuperficial readers to imagine, that the whole buſineſs was nothing more than a ſet of roring, ſcouring companions, overcharged with wine: but this is a ſcandalous miſtake, foiſted on the world by a ſort of modern authors, who have too *literal* an underſtanding; and, becauſe antiquity is to be traced *backwards*, do therefore, like Jews, begin their books at the wrong end, as if learning were a ſort of *conjuring*. Theſe are the men who pretend to underſtand a book, by ſcouting thro' the *index*, as if a traveller ſhould go about to deſcribe a *palace*, when he had ſeen nothing but the *privy*; or like certain fortune-tellers in Northern America, who have a way of reading a man's deſtiny, by peeping into his *breech*. For at the time of inſtituting theſe myſteries ‡, there was not one vine in all Ægypt, the natives drinking nothing but *ale*; which liquor ſeems to have been far more antient than wine, and has the honour of owing its invention and progreſs, not only to the Ægyptian Oſyris ||, but to the Græcian Bacchus; who, in their famous expedition, carried the receipt of it along with them, and gave it to the nations they

† Diod. Sic. l. 1. Plut. de Iſide et Oſyride.
‡ Herod. l. 2.
|| Diod. Sic. l. 1. et 3.

they viſited or ſubdued. Beſides, Bacchus himſelf was very ſeldom or never drunk: for it is recorded of him, that he was the firſt inventor of the *mitre* †: which he wore continually on his head, (as the whole company of Bacchanals did) to prevent vapours and the *head-ach* after hard drinking. And for this reaſon (ſay ſome) the *ſcarlet whore*, when ſhe makes the kings of the earth drunk with her cup of abomination, is always ſober herſelf, tho' ſhe never balks the glaſs in her turn, being, it ſeems, kept upon her legs by the virtue of her *triple mitre*. Now, theſe feaſts were inſtituted in imitation of the famous expedition Oſyris made thro' the world, and of the company that attended him, whereof the Bacchanalian ceremonies ‡ were ſo many types and ſymbols. From which account it is manifeſt, that the fanatic rites of theſe Bacchanals cannot be imputed to intoxications by wine, but muſt needs have had a deeper foundation. What this was, we may gather large hints from certain circumſtances in the courſe of their myſteries. For, in the firſt place, there was in their proceſſions an entire *mixture and confuſion of ſexes*: they affected to ramble about hills and deſarts: their garlands were of *ivy* and *vine*, emblems of cleaving and clinging; or of *fir*, the parent of *turpentine*. It is added, that they imitated *ſatyrs*, were attended by *goats*, and rode upon *aſſes*, all companions of great ſkill and practice in affairs of gallantry. They bore for their enſigns certain curious figures perched upon long poles, made into the ſhape and ſize of the *virga genitalis*, with its *appurtenances*, which were ſo many ſhadows and emblems of the whole myſtery, as well as trophies ſet up by the female conquerors. Laſtly, in a certain town of Attica, the whole ſolemnity ſtript of all its types ‖, was performed in *puris naturalibus*; the votaries not flying in coveys, but ſorted into couples. The ſame may be farther conjectured from the death of Orpheus, one of the inſtitutors of theſe myſteries; who was torn in pieces by women, becauſe he refuſed to *communicate*

† Diod. Sic. l. 1. et 3.
‡ See the particulars in Diod. Sic. l. 1. et 3.
‖ *Dionyſia* Brauronia.

communicate his orgies † to them; which others explained, by telling us, he had *caſtrated* himſelf, upon grief for the loſs of his wife.

OMITTING many others of leſs note, the next *fanatics* we meet with of any eminence, were the numerous ſects of *heretics*, appearing in the five firſt centuries of the Chriſtian Æra, from Simon Magus and his followers, to thoſe of Eutyches. I have collected their ſyſtems from infinite reading; and comparing them with thoſe of their ſucceſſors in their ſeveral ages ſince, I find their are certain bounds ſet even to the irregularity of human thought, and thoſe a great deal narrower than is commonly apprehended. For as they all frequently interfere, even in their wildeſt ravings; ſo there is one fundamental point, wherein they are ſure to meet, as lines in a center, and that is the *community of women*. Great were their ſolicitudes in this matter; and they never failed of certain articles in their ſchemes of worſhip, on purpoſe to eſtabliſh it.

THE laſt *fanatics* of note, were thoſe which ſtarted up in Germany, a little after the *Reformation* of Luther; ſpringing, as *muſhrooms* do at the *end of a harveſt*. Such were John of Leyden, David George, Adam Neuſter, and many others; whoſe viſions and revelations always terminated in *leading about half a dozen ſiſters a-piece*, and making that practice a fundamental part of their ſyſtem. For human life is a continual navigation; and if we expect our *veſſels* to paſs with ſafety thro' the waves and tempeſts of this fluctuating world, it is neceſſary to make a good proviſion for the *ſiſh*, as ſeamen lay in ſtore of *beef* for a long voyage.

Now, from this brief ſurvey of ſome principal ſects among the *fanatics*, in all ages, (having omitted the Mahometans and others, who might alſo help to confirm the argument I am about); to which I might add ſeveral among ourſelves, ſuch as the *family of love*, *jewiſh ſingers of Iſrael*, and the like; and from reflecting upon that fundamental point in their doctrines, about *women*, wherein they have ſo unanimouſly agreed; I am apt to imagine,

† Vid. Photium in excerptis e Conone.

imagine, that the ſeed or principle which has ever put men upon *viſions* in things *inviſible*, is of a corporeal nature. For the profounder chymiſts inform us, that the ſtrongeſt *ſpirits* may be extracted from *human fleſh*. Beſides, the ſpinal marrow, being nothing elſe but a continuation of the brain, muſt needs create a very free communication between the ſuperior faculties and thoſe below: and thus the *thorn in the fleſh* ſerves for a *ſpur* to the *ſpirit*. I think it is agreed among phyſicians, that nothing affects the head ſo much as a tentiginous humour, repelled and elated to the upper region, found by daily practice to run frequently up into madneſs. A very eminent member of the faculty aſſured me, that when the *Quakers* firſt appeared, he ſeldom was without ſome female patients among them, for the *furor*.——Perſons of a viſionary devotion, either men or women, are, in their complexion, of all others the moſt amorous. For *zeal* is frequently kindled from the ſame ſpark with other fires, and from inflaming brotherly love, will proceed to raiſe that of a gallant. If we inſpect into the uſual proceſs of modern courtſhip, we ſhall find it to conſiſt in a devout turn of the eyes, called *ogling*; an artificial form of canting and whining by rote, every interval, for want of other matter, made up with a ſhrug, or a hum; a ſigh, or a groan; the ſtyle compact of inſignificant words, incoherences and repetition. Theſe I take to be the moſt accompliſhed rules of addreſs to a miſtreſs; and where are theſe performed with more dexterity, than by the *ſaints*? Nay, to bring this argument yet cloſer, I have been informed by certain ſanguine brethren of the firſt claſs, that, in the height and *orgaſmus* of their ſpiritual exerciſe, it has been frequent with them * * * * *; immediately after which, they found the *ſpirit* to relax and flag of a ſudden with the nerves, and they were forced to haſten to a concluſion. This may be farther ſtrengthened, by obſerving with wonder, how unaccountably all females are attracted by viſionary or enthuſiaſtic preachers, tho' never ſo contemptible in their *outward mien*; which is uſually ſuppoſed to be done upon conſiderations purely ſpiritual, without any carnal regards at all. But I have reaſon to think

think, the *ſex* hath certain characteriſtics, by which they form a truer judgment of human abilities and performings, than we ourſelves can poſſibly do of each other. Let that be as it will, thus much is certain, that however ſpiritual intrigues begin, they generally conclude like all others; they may branch upwards towards heaven, but the root is in the earth. Too intenſe a contemplation is not the buſineſs of fleſh and blood; it muſt, by the neceſſary courſe of things, in a little time, let go its hold, and fall into *matter*. Lovers, for the ſake of celeſtial converſe, are but another ſort of Platonics, who pretend to ſee ſtars and heaven in ladies eyes, and to look or think no lower; but the ſame *pit* is provided for both. And they ſeem a perfect moral to the ſtory of that philoſopher, who, while his thoughts and eyes were fixed upon the *conſtellations*, found himſelf ſeduced by his *lower parts* into a *ditch*.

I had ſomewhat more to ſay upon this part of the ſubject; but the poſt is juſt going, which forces me in great haſte to conclude,

SIR

Yours, &c.

Pray burn this letter as ſoon as it comes to your hands.

An ARGUMENT to prove that the ABOLISHING of CHRISTIANITY in ENGLAND, may, as things now ſtand, be attended with ſome inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce thoſe many good effects propoſed thereby *.

Written in the year 1708.

I Am very ſenſible, what a weakneſs and preſumption it is, to reaſon againſt the general humour and diſpoſition of the world. I remember it was with great juſtice, and a due regard to the freedom, both of the public and the preſs, forbidden, upon ſevere penalties, to write, or diſcourſe, or lay wagers againſt the *union*, even before it was confirmed by parliament; becauſe that was looked upon as a deſign to oppoſe the current of the people; which, beſides the folly of it, is a manifeſt breach of the fundamental law, that makes this majority of opinion the voice of God. In like manner, and for the very ſame reaſons, it may perhaps be neither ſafe nor prudent to argue againſt the aboliſhing

* *The argument againſt aboliſhing Chriſtianity*, is carried on with the higheſt wit and humour. Graver divines threaten their readers with future punithments: Swift artfully exhibits a picture of preſent ſhame. He judged rightly in imagining, that a ſmall treatiſe written with a ſpirit of mirth and freedom, muſt be more efficacious, than long ſermons or laborious leſſons of morality. He endeavours to laugh us into religion; well knowing, that we are often laughed out of it. *Orrery.*

The *argument*, &c. is the moſt delicate, refined, compleat, unvaried piece of irony, from the beginning to the end, that ever was written ſince the creation of the world. And without diſpute, if in the works of man there can be ſuppoſed any ſuch thing as real perfection, we muſt allow it to conſiſt in thoſe amazing productions of wit and humour, which in all probability can never be excelled by any effort of genius, and beyond which it is impoſſible to frame any critical or diſtinct idea of the human faculties.—With what egregious contempt and ridicule doth he, in this piece, expoſe the abſurdity of thoſe wretches, who are the patrons and abettors of vice and irreligion? Swift.

ing of Christianity, at a juncture when all parties appear so unanimously determined upon the point; as we cannot but allow from their actions, their discourses, and their writings. However, I know not how, whether from the affectation of singularity, or the perverseness of human nature; but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this opinion. Nay, tho' I were sure an order were issued for my immediate prosecution by the Attorney-General, I should still confess, that, in the present posture of our affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet see the absolute necessity of extirpating the Christian religion from among us.

THIS perhaps may appear too great a paradox, even for our wise and paradoxical age to endure: therefore I shall handle it with all tenderness, and with the utmost deference to that great and profound majority, which is of another sentiment.

AND yet the curious may please to observe, how much the genius of a nation is liable to alter in half an age. I have heard it affirmed for certain, by some very old people, that the contrary opinion was, even in their memories, as much in vogue as the other is now; and that a project for the abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this time to write or discourse in its defence.

THEREFORE I freely own, that all appearances are against me. The system of the gospel, after the fate of other systems, is generally antiquated and exploded; and the mass or body of the common people, among whom it seems to have had its latest credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their betters; opinions, like fashions, always descending from those of quality to the middle sort, and thence to the vulgar, where at length they are dropped, and vanish.

BUT here I would not be mistaken; and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a distinction from the writers on the other side, when they make a difference between nominal and real *Trinitarians*. I hope no reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the defence of real Christianity, such as used in primitive times (if we may believe the authors of those ages) to have an in-

dices that usually cling to a confined education. To which I answer, That men should be cautious how they raise objections, which reflect upon the wisdom of the nation. Is not every body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaseth, and to publish his belief to the world whenever he thinks fit, especially if it serves to strengthen the party which is in the right? Would any indifferent foreigner, who should read the trumpery lately written by Asgil, Tindal, Toland, Coward *, and forty more, imagine the gospel to be our rule of faith, and confirmed by parliaments? Does any man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he believes one syllable of the matter? And is any man worse received upon that score; or does he find his want of *nominal* faith a disadvantage to him, in the pursuit of any civil or military employment? What if there be an old dormant statute or two against him? Are they not now obsolete, to a degree, that Empson and Dudley themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in execution?

IT is likewise urged, That there are, by computation, in this kingdom, above ten thousand persons; whose revenues added to those of my Lords the Bishops, would suffice to maintain, at least, two hundred young gentlemen of wit and pleasure, and free-thinking; enemies to priestcraft, narrow principles, pedantry, and prejudices; who might be an ornament to the court and town: and then again, so great a number of able [bodied] divines might be a recruit to our fleet and armies. This indeed appears to be a consideration of some weight. But then, on the other side, several things deserve to be considered likewise: as, first, whether it may not be thought necessary, that in certain tracts of country, like what we call parishes, there should be *one* man, at least, of abilities to read and write. Then it seems a wrong computation, that the revenues of the church throughout

* Asgil wrote an argument to prove, that man may be translated from hence into eternal life, without passing through death.

Toland published some deistical books.

Tindal's writings were blasphemous and atheistical.

Coward asserted the mortality of the soul, and alledged the seat of it to be in the blood. Hawkes.

throughout this iſland, would be large enough to maintain two hundred young gentlemen, or even half that number, after the preſent refined way of living; that is, to allow each of them ſuch a rent, as, in the modern form of ſpeech, would make them eaſy. But ſtill there is in this project a greater miſchief behind; and we ought to beware of the woman's folly, who killed the hen that every morning laid her a golden egg. For, pray, what will become of the race of men in the next age, if we had nothing to truſt to, beſide the ſcrophulous conſumptive productions furniſhed by our men of wit and pleaſure; when, having ſquandered away their vigour, health, and eſtates, they are forced, by ſome diſagreeable marriage, to piece up their broken fortunes, and entail rottenneſs and politeneſs on their poſterity? Now, here are ten thouſand perſons reduced, by the wiſe regulations of Henry VIII. to the neceſſity of a low diet, and moderate exerciſe, who are the only great reſtorers of our breed; without which the nation would, in an age or two, become one great hoſpital.

ANOTHER advantage propoſed by the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity is, the clear gain of one day in ſeven, which is now entirely loſt, and conſequently the kingdom one ſeventh leſs conſiderable in trade, buſineſs, and pleaſure; beſides the loſs to the public of ſo many ſtately ſtructures now in the hands of the clergy; which might be converted into play-houſes, market-houſes, exchanges, common dormitories, and other public edifices.

I hope I ſhall be forgiven a hard word, if I call this a perfect cavil. I readily own there hath been an old cuſtom, time out of mind, for people to aſſemble in the churches every Sunday; and that ſhops are ſtill frequently ſhut, in order, as it is conceived, to preſerve the memory of that antient practice. But how this can prove a hindrance to buſineſs or pleaſure, is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleaſure are forced, one day in the week, to game at home, inſtead of the *chocolate-houſe*? Are not the *taverns* and *coffee-houſes* open? Can there be a more convenient ſeaſon for taking a doſe of phyſic? Are fewer claps got upon Sundays than other days? Is not that the chief day for traders to ſum up the accounts of the week; and for lawyers to pre-

pare

pare their briefs? But I would fain know, how it can be pretended, that the churches are misapplied? Where are more appointments and rendezvouses of gallantry? where more care to appear in the foremost box, with greater advantage of dress? where more meetings for business? where more bargains driven of all sorts? and where so many conveniencies or incitements to sleep?

THERE is one advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, proposed by the abolishing of Christianity: That it will utterly extinguish parties among us, by removing those factious distinctions of *High* and *Low Church*, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Presbyterian* and *Church of England*; which are now so many grievous clogs upon public proceedings, and are apt to dispose men to prefer the gratifying themselves, or depressing their adversaries, before the most important interest of the state.

I confess, if it were certain, that so great an advantage would redound to the nation by this expedient, I would submit, and be silent. But will any man say, that if the words *whoring*, *drinking*, *cheating*, *lying*, *stealing*, were, by act of parliament, ejected out of the English tongue and dictionaries, we should all awake next morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and lovers of truth? Is this a fair consequence? Or, if the physicians would forbid us to pronounce the words *pox*, *gout*, *rheumatism*, and *stone*, would that expedient serve, like so many *talismans*, to destroy the diseases themselves? Are party and faction rooted in mens hearts no deeper than phrases borrowed from religion, or founded upon no firmer principles? And is our language so poor, that we cannot find other terms to express them? Are envy, pride, avarice, and ambition, such ill nomenclators, that they cannot furnish appellations for their owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarines* and *Patshaws*, or any other words formed at pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the ministry, from others who would be in it if they could? What, for instance, is easier than to vary the form of speech; and, instead of the word *church*, make it a question in politics, whether the *monument* be in danger? Because religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient phrases, is our invention so

barren,

barren, we can find no other? Suppoſe, for argument's ſake, that the *Tories* favoured Margarita, the *Whigs* Mrs Toſts, and the *Trimmers* Valentini †; would not *Margaritians*, *Toſtians*, and *Valentinians*, be very tolerable marks of diſtinction? The *Praſini* and *Veniti*, two moſt virulent factions in Italy, began (if I remember right) by a diſtinction of colours in ribbands: and we might contend, with as good a grace, about the dignity of the *blue* and the *green*; which would ſerve as properly to divide the court, the parliament, and the kingdom between them, as any terms of art whatſoever borrowed from religion. And therefore I think there is little force in this objection againſt Chriſtianity, or proſpect of ſo great an advantage as is propoſed in the aboliſhing of it.

It is again objected, as a very abſurd ridiculous cuſtom, That a ſet of men ſhould be ſuffered, much leſs employed and hired, to bawl one day in ſeven, againſt the lawfulneſs of thoſe methods moſt in uſe towards the purſuit of greatneſs, riches, and pleaſure, which are the conſtant practice of all men alive on the other ſix. But this objection is, I think, a little unworthy ſo refined an age as ours. Let us argue this matter calmly. I appeal to the breaſt of any polite freethinker, whether, in the purſuit of gratifying a predominant paſſion, he hath not always felt a wonderful incitement, by reflecting it was a thing forbidden: and therefore we ſee, in order to cultivate this taſte, the wiſdom of the nation hath taken ſpecial care, that the ladies ſhould be furniſhed with prohibited ſilks, and the men with prohibited wine. And indeed it were to be wiſhed, that ſome other prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the pleaſures of the town; which, for want of ſuch expedients, begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel inroads from the ſpleen.

It is likewiſe propoſed, as a great advantage to the public, That if we once diſcard the ſyſtem of the goſpel, all religion will of courſe be baniſhed for ever; and conſequently, along with it, thoſe grievous prejudices of education;

† Italian ſingers then in vogue. Margarita was afterwards married to *Dr. Pepuſche*.

pare their briefs? But I would fa[illegible] virtue, conscience, be pretended, that the churches [illegible] so apt to disturb the are more appointments and re[illegible]e notions whereof are so where more care to appe[illegible]ght reason or freethinking, greater advantage of [illegible]le course of our lives. for business? where [illegible]e how difficult it is to get rid of a and where so ma[illegible] world is once grown fond of, tho' the sleep? [illegible] produced it be entirely taken away.

THERE is [illegible] past, if a man had but an ill favoured going, pr[illegible]-thinkers of the age would, some way or it will [illegible]ve to impute the cause to the prejudice of those [illegible]. From this fountain are said to be derived W[illegible] foolish notions of justice, piety, love of our coun- [illegible] all our opinions of God, or a future state, heaven, hell, and the like: and there might formerly, perhaps, have been some pretence for this charge. But so effectual care hath been since taken to remove those prejudices, by an entire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite innovators) the young gentlemen who are now on the scene, seem to have not the least tincture left of those infusions, or string of those weeds; and, by consequence, the reason for abolishing nominal Christianity upon that pretext, is wholly ceased.

FOR the rest, it may perhaps admit a controversy, whether the banishing all notions of religion whatsoever would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am, in the least, of opinion with those who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians, to keep the lower part of the world in awe, by the fear of invisible powers; unless mankind were then very different from what it is now: for I look upon the mass or body of our people here in England to be as free-thinkers, that is to say, as stanch unbelievers, as any of the highest rank. But I conceive some scattered notions about a superior power to be of singular use for the common people, as furnishing excellent materials to keep children quiet when they grow peevish, and providing topics of amusement in a tedious winter night.

LASTLY, It is proposed, as a singular advantage, That the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Protestants*, by enlarging the terms of communion,

nion, so as to take in all sorts of *dissenters*; who shut out of the pale upon account of a few ce- which all sides confess to be things indifferent: alone will effectually answer the great ends of r comprehension, by opening a large noble h all bodies may enter; whereas the chaf- th *dissenters*, and dodging about this or the ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and aving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his body.

To all this I answer, That there is one darling inclination of mankind, which usually affects to be a retainer to religion, tho' she be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend; I mean the spirit of opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine, wherein the opposition of sectaries among us consists. We shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all. Does the gospel any where prescribe a starched squeezed countenance, a stiff formal gait, a singularity of manners and habit, or any affected modes of speech, different from the reasonable part of mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its name to stand in the gap, and to employ or divert these humours, they must of necessity be spent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and disturbance of the public peace. There is a portion of enthusiasm assigned to every nation, which, if it hath not proper objects to work on, will burst out, and set all in a flame. If the quiet of a state can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchase no wise man would refuse. Let the mastiffs amuse themselves about a sheep's skin stuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock. The institution of convents abroad seems in one point a strain of great wisdom; there being few irregularities in human passions, that may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those orders; which are so many retreats for the speculative, the melancholy, the proud, the silent, the politic, and the morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious particles: for each of whom we in this island are forced to provide a several

education; which, under the names of *virtue*, *conscience*, *honour*, *justice*, and the like, are so apt to disturb the peace of human minds; and the notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by right reason or freethinking, sometimes during the whole course of our lives.

HERE, first, I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a phrase, which the world is once grown fond of, tho' the occasion that first produced it be entirely taken away. For several years past, if a man had but an ill favoured nose, the deep-thinkers of the age would, some way or other, contrive to impute the cause to the prejudice of his education. From this fountain are said to be derived all our foolish notions of justice, piety, love of our country; all our opinions of God, or a future state, heaven, hell, and the like: and there might formerly, perhaps, have been some pretence for this charge. But so effectual care hath been since taken to remove those prejudices, by an entire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite innovators) the young gentlemen who are now on the scene, seem to have not the least tincture left of those infusions, or string of those weeds; and, by consequence, the reason for abolishing nominal Christianity upon that pretext, is wholly ceased.

FOR the rest, it may perhaps admit a controversy, whether the banishing all notions of religion whatsoever would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am, in the least, of opinion with those who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians, to keep the lower part of the world in awe, by the fear of invisible powers; unless mankind were then very different from what it is now: for I look upon the mass or body of our people here in England to be as free-thinkers, that is to say, as staunch unbelievers, as any of the highest rank. But I conceive some scattered notions about a superior power to be of singular use for the common people, as furnishing excellent materials to keep children quiet when they grow peevish, and providing topics of amusement in a tedious winter night.

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communion, ſo as to take in all ſorts of *diſſenters*; who are now ſhut out of the pale upon account of a few ceremonies, which all ſides confeſs to be things indifferent: That this alone will effectually anſwer the great ends of a ſcheme for comprehenſion, by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *diſſenters*, and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that not without ſtooping, and ſideling, and ſqueezing his body.

To all this I anſwer, That there is one darling inclination of mankind, which uſually affects to be a retainer to religion, tho' ſhe be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend; I mean the ſpirit of oppoſition, that lived long before Chriſtianity, and can eaſily ſubſiſt without it. Let us, for inſtance, examine, wherein the oppoſition of ſectaries among us conſiſts. We ſhall find Chriſtianity to have no ſhare in it at all. Does the goſpel any where preſcribe a ſtarched ſqueezed countenance, a ſtiff formal gait, a ſingularity of manners and habit, or any affected modes of ſpeech, different from the reaſonable part of mankind? Yet, if Chriſtianity did not lend its name to ſtand in the gap, and to employ or divert theſe humours, they muſt of neceſſity be ſpent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and diſturbance of the public peace. There is a portion of enthuſiaſm aſſigned to every nation, which, if it hath not proper objects to work on, will burſt out, and ſet all in a flame. If the quiet of a ſtate can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchaſe no wiſe man would refuſe. Let the maſtiffs amuſe themſelves about a ſheep's ſkin ſtuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock. The inſtitution of convents abroad ſeems in one point a ſtrain of great wiſdom; there being few irregularities in human paſſions, that may not have recourſe to vent themſelves in ſome of thoſe orders; which are ſo many retreats for the ſpeculative, the melancholy, the proud, the ſilent, the politic, and the moroſe, to ſpend themſelves, and evaporate the noxious particles: for each of whom we in this iſland are forced to provide a ſeveral

ral ſect of religion, to keep them quiet. And whenever Chriſtianity ſhall be aboliſhed, the legiſlature muſt find ſome other expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a gate you open, if there will be always left a number, who place a pride and a merit in refuſing to enter?

HAVING thus conſidered the moſt important objections againſt Chriſtianity, and the chief advantages propoſed by the aboliſhing thereof; I ſhall now, with equal deference and ſubmiſſion to wiſer judgments as before, proceed to mention a few inconveniences that may happen, if the goſpel ſhould be repealed; which perhaps the projectors may not have ſufficiently conſidered.

AND, firſt, I am very ſenſible how much the gentlemen of wit and pleaſure are apt to murmur, and be choked at the ſight of ſo many daggled-tail parſons, who happened to fall in their way, and offend their eyes. But at the ſame time theſe wiſe reformers do not conſider, what an advantage and felicity it is, for great wits to be always provided with objects of ſcorn and contempt, in order to exerciſe and improve their talents, and divert their ſpleen from falling on each other, or on themſelves; eſpecially when all this may be done without the leaſt imaginable danger to their perſons.

AND to urge another argument of a parallel nature: If Chriſtianity were once aboliſhed, how could the freethinkers, the ſtrong reaſoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another ſubject ſo calculated in all points whereon to diſplay their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit ſhould we be deprived of, from thoſe whoſe genius, by continual practice, hath been wholly turned upon rallery and invectives againſt religion, and would therefore never be able to ſhine or diſtinguiſh themſelves upon any other ſubject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us; and would we take away the greateſt, perhaps the only topic we have left? Who would ever have ſuſpected Aſgil for a wit, or Toland for a philoſopher, if the inexhauſtible ſtock of Chriſtianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other ſubject thro' all art or nature could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furniſhed him with

with readers? It is the wise choice of the subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For had an hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion.

Nor do I think it wholly groundless, or my fears altogether imaginary, that the abolishing of Christianity may perhaps bring the church in danger, or at least put the senate to the trouble of another securing vote. I desire I may not be mistaken: I am far from presuming to affirm, or think, that the church is in danger at present, or as things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so when the Christian religion is repealed. As plausible as this project seems, there may be a dangerous design lurking under it. Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Antitrinitarians*, and other subdivisions of freethinkers, are persons of little zeal for the present ecclesiastical establishment. Their declared opinion is for repealing the sacramental test; they are very indifferent with regard to ceremonies; nor do they hold the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore this may be intended as one politic step towards altering the constitution of the church-established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the stead; which I leave to be further considered by those at the helm.

In the last place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that, by this expedient, we shall run into the evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the abolishment of the *Christian* religion will be the readiest course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this opinion, because we know it hath been the constant practice of the *Jesuits* to send over emissaries, with instructions to personate themselves members of the several prevailing sects among us. So it is recorded, that they have at sundry times appeared in the guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and *Quakers*, according as any of these were most in credit: so, since the fashion hath been taken up of exploding religion, the *Popish* missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the freethinkers; among whom Toland, the great oracle of the *Anti-Christians*, is an Irish priest, the son of an Irish priest; and the most learned and inge-

nious author of a book called the *Rights of the Chriſtian church*, was, in a proper juncture, reconciled to the Romiſh faith; whoſe true ſon, as appears by a hundred paſſages in his treatiſe, he ſtill continues. Perhaps I could add ſome others to the number; but the fact is beyond diſpute. And the reaſoning they proceed by is right: for ſuppoſing Chriſtianity to be extinguiſhed, the people will never be at eaſe till they find out ſome other method of worſhip; which will as infallibly produce ſuperſtition, as ſuperſtition will end in *Popery*.

AND therefore, if, notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, it ſtill be thought neceſſary to have a bill brought in for repealing Chriſtianity, I would humbly offer an amendment, that inſtead of the word *Chriſtianity*, may be put *religion* in general; which, I conceive, will much better anſwer all the good ends propoſed by the projectors of it. For as long as we leave in being a God and his providence, with all the neceſſary conſequences which curious and inquiſitive men will be apt to draw from ſuch premiſſes; we do not ſtrike at the root of the evil, tho' we ſhould ever ſo effectually annihilate the preſent ſcheme of the goſpel. For of what uſe is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action; which is the ſole end, how remote ſoever in appearance, of all objections againſt Chriſtianity? and therefore the freethinkers conſider it as a ſort of edifice, wherein all the parts have ſuch a mutual dependence on each other, that, if you happen to pull out one ſingle nail, the whole fabric muſt fall to the ground. This was happily expreſſed by him, who had heard of a text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an ancient manuſcript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the hint, and, by a ſudden deduction of a long *ſorites* †, moſt logically concluded, Why, if it be as you ſay, I may ſafely whore and drink on, and defy the parſon. From which, and many the like inſtances eaſy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifeſt, than that the quarrel is not againſt any particular points of hard digeſtion in the

† A *ſorites* differs from a ſyllogiſm, in that it takes only the minor propoſition. An example of this figure may be ſeen, vol. viii. in John Bull, part 2. chap. 17. near the end, p. 268.

the Chriſtian ſyſtem; but againſt religion in general; which, by laying reſtraints on human nature, is ſuppoſed the great enemy to the freedom of thought and action.

UPON the whole, if it ſhall ſtill be thought for the benefit of church and ſtate, that Chriſtianity be aboliſhed; I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the execution to a time of peace; and not venture in this conjuncture to diſoblige our allies, who, as it falls out, are all Chriſtians; and many of them, by the prejudices of their education, ſo bigotted, as to place a ſort of pride in the appellation. If, upon being rejected by them, we are to truſt to an alliance with the Turk, we ſhall find ourſelves much deceived: for as he is too remote, and generally engaged in war with the Perſian Emperor, ſo his people would be more ſcandalized at our infidelity, than our Chriſtian neighbours. For the Turks are not only ſtrict obſervers of religious worſhip; but, what is worſe, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preſerve the name of Chriſtians.

To conclude: Whatever ſome may think of the great advantages to trade by this favourite ſcheme, I do very much apprehend, that in ſix months time after the act is paſſed for the extirpation of the goſpel, the Bank and Eaſt-India ſtock may fall, at leaſt, one *per cent.* And, ſince that is fifty times more than ever the wiſdom of our age thought fit to venture for the *preſervation* of Chriſtianity, there is no reaſon we ſhould be at ſo great loſs, merely for the ſake of *deſtroying* it.

A Project for the ADVANCEMENT of RELIGION and the REFORMATION of MANNERS*.

By a PERSON of QUALITY.

Written in the year 1709.

To the Counteſs of BERKLEY †.

MADAM,

MY intention in prefixing your Ladyſhip's name, is not, after the common form, to deſire your protection of the following papers; which I take to be a very unreaſonable requeſt; ſince, by being inſcribed to your Ladyſhip, tho' without your knowledge, and from a concealed hand, you cannot recommend

* The author appears in earneſt throughout this whole treatiſe; and the dedication, or introduction, is in a ſtrain of ſerious panegyric, which the Lady, to whom it is addreſſed, undoubtedly deſerved. But as the pamphlet is of the ſatirical kind, I am apt to imagine, that the Dean put a violence upon himſelf, in chuſing to appear candidly ſerious, rather than to ſmile under his uſual maſk of gravity. Methinks, upon theſe occaſions, I perceive him writing in ſhackles. *Orrery.*

In the *Project*, &c. Dr. Swift appears in the character of a great inſpired prophet. *He crieth aloud, he ſpareth not, he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet.* Iſ. lviii. 1. *He* rebuketh all ranks of men for their depravities and corruptions, their profaneneſs, their blaſphemy and irreligion. His diſcourſe he addreſſeth unto his Sovereign, and, beyond all contradiction, proveth it to be an important duty incumbent on all princes, to encourage and to enforce morals and religion, by exerting their utmoſt authority. He then applieth himſelf to the legiſlature, conjuring them to forward ſo noble a deſign, and to provide remedies againſt that torrent of iniquity, which, if not vigorouſly oppoſed, would certainly increaſe, and never ſtop in its career, until it ſubverted the conſtitution. And, finally, he declares, in the prophetic ſtyle and ſpirit, that a reformation of manners, and turning unto God, are the beſt natural as well as religious means, to bring the war to an happy concluſion. *Swift.*

† This excellent Lady, was Eliſabeth, the daughter of Baptiſt *Noel*, Viſcount Campden, and ſiſter to Edward Earl of Gainſborough. *Hawkeſ.*

mend them without some suspicion of partiality. My real design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most dedications; that of publishing your praises to the world; not upon the subject of your noble birth, for I know others as noble; or of the greatness of your fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful race, (the images of their parents,) which calls you mother; for even this may perhaps have been equalled in some other age or country. Besides, none of these advantages do derive any accomplishments to the owners, but serve, at best, only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend, is your piety, truth, good sense, and good nature, affability, and charity; wherein I wish your Ladyship had many equals, or any superiors; and I wish I could say, I knew them too, for then your Ladyship might have had a chance to escape this address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary, for the interest of virtue and religion, that the whole kingdom should be informed in some parts of your character: for instance, That the easiest and politest conversation, joined with the truest piety, may be observed in your Ladyship, in as great perfection as they were ever seen apart in any other persons: That, by your prudence and management, under several disadvantages, you have preserved the lustre of that most noble family into which you are grafted, and which the unmeasurable profusion of ancestors, for many generations, had too much eclipsed: Then how happily you perform every office of life, to which Providence hath called you; in the education of those two incomparable daughters, whose conduct is so universally admired; in every duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate wife; in that care which descends to the meanest of your domestics; and, lastly, in that endless bounty to the poor, and discretion where to distribute it. I insist on my opinion, that it is of importance for the public, to know this, and a great deal more of your Ladyship; yet whoever goes about to inform them, shall, instead of finding credit, perhaps be censured for a flatterer. To avoid so usual a reproach, I declare this to be no dedication, but merely an introduction to a proposal for the advancement of religion and morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, some few linea-

ments in the character of a Lady, who hath ſpent all her life in the practice and promotion of both.

AMONG all the ſchemes offered to the public in this projecting age, I have obſerved, with ſome diſpleaſure, that there have never been any for the improvement of religion and morals: which, beſides the piety of the deſign from the conſequence of ſuch a reformation in a future life, would be the beſt natural means for advancing the public felicity of the ſtate, as well as the preſent happineſs of every individual. For as much as faith and morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident, they might, in a ſhort time, and with no very great trouble, be raiſed to as high a perfection as numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed the method is ſo eaſy and obvious, and ſome preſent opportunities ſo good, that, in order to have this project reduced to practice, there ſeems to want nothing more than to put thoſe in mind, who, by their honour, duty, and intereſt, are chiefly concerned.

But becauſe it is idle to propoſe remedies before we are aſſured of the diſeaſe, or to be in fear till we are convinced of the danger; I ſhall firſt ſhew in general, that the nation is extremely corrupted in religion and morals; and then I will offer a ſhort ſcheme for the reformation of both.

As to the firſt, I know it is reckoned but a form of ſpeech, when divines complain of the wickedneſs of the age. However, I believe, upon a fair compariſon with other times and countries, it would be found an undoubted truth.

For, firſt, to deliver nothing but plain matter of fact, without exaggeration or ſatire, I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that hardly one in an hundred among our people of quality or gentry appears to act by any principle of religion; that great numbers of them do entirely diſcard it, and are ready to own their diſbelief of all revelation in ordinary diſcourſe. Nor is the caſe much better among the vulgar, eſpecially in great towns, where the profaneneſs and ignorance of handicraftſmen, ſmall traders, ſervants, and the like, are to a degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then it is obſerved abroad, that no race of mortals hath ſo little ſenſe of religion, as the Engliſh

lish soldiers. To confirm which, I have been often told by great officers of the army, that in the whole compass of their acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their profession, who seemed to regard or believe one syllable of the gospel. And the same at least may be affirmed of the fleet. The consequences of all which upon the actions of men, are equally manifest. They never go about, as in former times, to hide or palliate their vices, but expose them freely to view, like any other common occurrences of life, without the least reproach from the world or themselves. For instance, any man will tell you, he intends to be drunk this evening, or was so last night, with as little ceremony or scruple, as he would tell you the time of the day. He will let you know he is going to a wench, or that he has got a clap, with as much indifferency, as he would a piece of public news. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme, without the least passion or provocation. And tho' all regard for reputation is not quite laid aside in the other sex, it is however at so low an ebb, that very few among them seem to think virtue and conduct of any necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how comes it to pass, that women of tainted reputations find the same countenance and reception in all public places, with those of the nicest virtue, who pay and receive visits from them without any manner of scruple? Which proceeding, as it is not very old among us, so I take it to be of most pernicious consequence. It looks like a sort of compounding between virtue and vice; as if a woman were allowed to be vitious, provided she be not a profligate; as if there were a certain point where gallantry ends, and infamy begins; or that an hundred criminal amours were not as pardonable as half a score.

Besides those corruptions already mentioned, it would be endless to enumerate such as arise from the excess of play or gaming; the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths, and blasphemies among the men; among the women, the neglect of household-affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent passion; and, lastly, the known inlet to all lewdness, when after an ill run the *person* must answer the defects of the *purse*: the rule on such occasions hold-

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ing true in play, as it does in law, *Quod non habet in crumena, luat in corpore.*

But all theſe are trifles in compariſon, if we ſtep into other ſcenes, and conſider the fraud and cozenage of trading men and ſhopkeepers; that inſatiable gulf of injuſtice and oppreſſion, the *law*; the open traffic for all civil and military employments, (I wiſh it reſted there*,) without the leaſt regard to merit or qualifications; the corrupt management of men in office: the many deteſtable abuſes in chuſing thoſe who repreſent the people; with the management of intereſts and factions among the repreſentatives: to which I muſt be bold to add, the ignorance of ſome of the lower clergy; the mean ſervile temper of others; the pert pragmatical demeanour of ſeveral young ſtagers in divinity, upon their firſt producing themſelves into the world; with many other circumſtances needleſs, or rather invidious to mention; which falling in with the corruptions already related, have, however unjuſtly, almoſt rendered the whole order contemptible.

This is a ſhort view of the general depravities among us, without entering into particulars, which would be an endleſs labour. Now, as univerſal and deep-rooted as theſe appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual remedy might not be applied to moſt of them; neither am I at preſent upon a wild ſpeculative project, but ſuch a one as may be eaſily put in execution.

For, while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately, or by ſubordination, it is in the power of the *prince* to make piety and virtue become the faſhion of the age, if at the ſame time he would make them neceſſary qualifications for favour and preferment.

It is clear from preſent experience, that the bare example of the beſt prince will not have any mighty influence, where the age is very corrupt. For when was there ever a better prince on the throne than the preſent Queen? I do not talk of her talent for government, her love of the people, or any other qualities that are purely

* Perhaps the author intended to intimate that it extended to eccleſiaſtical. Hawkeſ.

ly regal; but her piety, charity, temperance, conjugal love, and whatever other virtues do beſt adorn a private life; wherein, without queſtion or flattery, ſhe hath no ſuperior: yet neither will it be ſatire, or peeviſh invective, to affirm, that infidelity and vice are not much diminiſhed ſince her coming to the crown; nor will, in probability, till more effectual remedies be provided.

THUS human nature ſeems to lie under the diſadvantage, that the example alone of a vitious prince will in time corrupt an age; but the example of a good one will not be ſufficient to reform it, without further endeavours. Princes muſt therefore ſupply this defect by a vigorous exerciſe of that authority which the law has left them, by making it every man's intereſt and honour to cultivate religion and virtue, by rendering vice a diſgrace, and the certain ruin to preferment or pretenſions: all which they ſhould firſt attempt in their own courts and families. For inſtance, might not the Queen's domeſtics of the middle and lower ſort be obliged, upon penalty of ſuſpenſion or loſs of their employments, to a conſtant weekly attendance on the ſervice of the church; to a decent behaviour in it; to receive the ſacrament four times a-year; to avoid ſwearing, and irreligious profane diſcourſes; and to the appearance at leaſt of temperance and chaſtity? Might not the care of all this be committed to the ſtrict inſpection of proper officers? Might not thoſe of higher rank, and nearer acceſs to her Majeſty, receive her own commands to the ſame purpoſe, and be countenanced or diſavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay her injunctions on the Biſhops, and other great men of undoubted piety, to make diligent inquiry, and give her notice, if any perſon about her ſhould happen to be of libertine principles or morals? Might not all theſe who enter upon any office in her Majeſty's family, be obliged to take an oath parallel with that againſt ſimony, which is adminiſtered to the clergy? It is not to be doubted, but that, if theſe, or the like proceedings were duly obſerved, morality and religion would ſoon become faſhionable court-virtues, and be taken up as the only methods to get or keep employments there: which

ing true in play, as it does in [illegible] influence upon many *crumena, licet in corpore.* [illegible] gentry.

But all these are [illegible] were pursued as far as pos- other scenes, an[illegible]se who are in the great em- trading men an[illegible] is hard to conceive how general injustice and [illegible] might in time produce among us. all civil an[illegible] virtue were once reckoned qualifications there*.) [illegible] preferment, every man thus endowed, tions; [illegible] great nations, would readily imitate the man[illegible] example in the distribution of all offices in his th[illegible]; especially, if any apparent transgression thro' [illegible] or partiality would be imputed to him for a mis- demeanor, by which he must certainly forfeit his favour and station. And there being such great numbers in employment, scattered thro' every town and county in this kingdom, if all these were exemplary in the con- duct of their lives, things would soon take a new face, and religion receive a mighty encouragement. Nor would the public weal be left advanced; since of nine offices in ten that are ill executed, the defect is not in capacity or understanding, but in common honesty. I know no employment, for which piety disqualifies any man: and, if it did, I doubt the objection would not be very seasonably offered at present; because it is per- haps too just a reflection, that, in the disposal of places, the question, whether a person be *fit* for what he is re- commended to? is generally the last that is thought on or regarded.

I have often imagined, that something parallel to the office of censors antiently in Rome, would be of mighty use among us, and could be easily limited from running into any exorbitances. The Romans under- stood liberty at least as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every occasion as bold asserters: yet I do not remember to have read any great complaints of the a- buses in that office among them; but many admirable effects of it are left upon record. There are several pernicious vices frequent and notorious among us, that escape or elude the punishment of any law we have yet invented, or have had no law at all against them; such as atheism, drunkenness, fraud, avarice, and se- veral others; which, by this institution, wisely re-

gulated,

lated, might be much reformed. Suppose, for instance, that itinerary commissioners were appointed to inspect, every where throughout the kingdom, into the conduct (at least) of men in office, with respect to their morals and religion, as well as their abilities; to receive the complaints and informations that should be offered against them, and make their report here upon oath to the court or the ministry, who should reward or punish accordingly. I avoid entering into the particulars of this or any other scheme; which coming from a private hand, might be liable to many defects, but would soon be digested by the wisdom of the nation. And, surely, six thousand pounds a-year would not be ill laid out among as many commissioners duly qualified, who in three divisions should be personally obliged to take their yearly circuits for that purpose.

But this is beside my present design; which was only to shew what degree of reformation is in the power of the Queen, without the interposition of the legislature; and which her Majesty is, without question, obliged in conscience to endeavour by her authority, as much as she doth by her practice.

It will be easily granted, that the example of this great town hath a mighty influence over the whole kingdom; and it is as manifest, that the town is equally influenced by the court, and the ministry, and those who, by their employments or their hopes, depend upon them. Now, if under so excellent a Princess as the present Queen, we would suppose a family strictly regulated, as I have above proposed; a ministry where every single person was of distinguished piety; if we should suppose all great offices of state and law filled after the same manner, and with such as were equally diligent in chusing persons, who, in their several subordinations, would be obliged to follow the examples of their superiors, under the penalty of loss of favour and place; will not every body grant, that the empire of vice and irreligion would be soon destroyed in this great metropolis, and receive a terrible blow thro' the whole island, which hath so great an intercourse with it, and so much affects to follow its fashions?

For, if religion were once understood to be the neces-

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which alone would have mighty influence upon many of the nobility and principal gentry.

But, if the like methods were purſued as far as poſſible with regard to thoſe who are in the great employments of ſtate, it is hard to conceive how general a reformation they might in time produce among us. For, if piety and virtue were once reckoned qualifications neceſſary to preferment, every man thus endowed, when put into great ſtations, would readily imitate the Queen's example in the diſtribution of all offices in his diſpoſal; eſpecially, if any apparent tranſgreſſion thro' favour or partiality would be imputed to him for a miſdemeanor, by which he muſt certainly forfeit his favour and ſtation. And there being ſuch great numbers in employment, ſcattered thro' every town and county in this kingdom, if all theſe were exemplary in the conduct of their lives, things would ſoon take a new face, and religion receive a mighty encouragement. Nor would the public weal be leſs advanced; ſince of nine offices in ten that are ill executed, the defect is not in capacity or underſtanding, but in common honeſty. I know no employment, for which piety diſqualifies any man: and, if it did, I doubt the objection would not be very ſeaſonably offered at preſent; becauſe it is perhaps too juſt a reflection, that, in the diſpoſal of places, the queſtion, whether a perſon be *fit* for what he is recommended to? is generally the laſt that is thought on or regarded.

I have often imagined, that ſomething parallel to the office of cenſors antiently in Rome, would be of mighty uſe among us, and could be eaſily limited from running into any exorbitances. The Romans underſtood liberty at leaſt as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every occaſion as bold aſſerters: yet I do not remember to have read any great complaints of the abuſes in that office among them; but many admirable effects of it are left upon record. There are ſeveral pernicious vices frequent and notorious among us, that eſcape or elude the puniſhment of any law we have yet invented, or have had no law at all againſt them; ſuch as atheiſm, drunkenneſs, fraud, avarice, and ſeveral others; which, by this inſtitution, wiſely regulated,

gulated, might be much reformed. Suppoſe, for inſtance, that itinerary commiſſioners were appointed to inſpect, every where throughout the kingdom, into the conduct (at leaſt) of men in office, with reſpect to their morals and religion, as well as their abilities; to receive the complaints and informations that ſhould be offered againſt them, and make their report here upon oath to the court or the miniſtry, who ſhould reward or puniſh accordingly. I avoid entering into the particulars of this or any other ſcheme; which coming from a private hand, might be liable to many defects, but would ſoon be digeſted by the wiſdom of the nation. And, ſurely, ſix thouſand pounds a-year would not be ill laid out among as many commiſſioners duly qualified, who in three diviſions ſhould be perſonally obliged to take their yearly circuits for that purpoſe.

But this is beſide my preſent deſign; which was only to ſhew what degree of reformation is in the power of the Queen, without the interpoſition of the legiſlature; and which her Majeſty is, without queſtion, obliged in conſcience to endeavour by her authority, as much as ſhe doth by her practice.

It will be eaſily granted, that the example of this great town hath a mighty influence over the whole kingdom; and it is as manifeſt, that the town is equally influenced by the court, and the miniſtry, and thoſe who, by their employments or their hopes, depend upon them. Now, if under ſo excellent a Princeſs as the preſent Queen, we would ſuppoſe a family ſtrictly regulated, as I have above propoſed; a miniſtry where every ſingle perſon was of diſtinguiſhed piety; if we ſhould ſuppoſe all great offices of ſtate and law filled after the ſame manner, and with ſuch as were equally diligent in chuſing perſons, who, in their ſeveral ſubordinations, would be obliged to follow the examples of their ſuperiors, under the penalty of loſs of favour and place; will not every body grant, that the empire of vice and irreligion would be ſoon deſtroyed in this great metropolis, and receive a terrible blow thro' the whole iſland, which hath ſo great an intercourſe with it, and ſo much affects to follow its faſhions?

For, if religion were once underſtood to be the neceſ-

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ſary ſtep to favour and preferment, can it be imagined that any man would openly offend againſt it, who had the leaſt regard for his reputation or his fortune? There is no quality ſo contrary to any nature, which men cannot affect, and put on upon occaſion, in order to ſerve an intereſt, or gratify a prevailing paſſion. The proudeſt man will perſonate humility, the moroſeſt learn to flatter, the lazieſt will be ſedulous and active, where he is in purſuit of what he hath much at heart: how ready therefore would moſt men be to ſtep into the paths of virtue and piety, if they infallibly led to favour and fortune!

If ſwearing and profaneneſs, ſcandalous and avowed lewdneſs, exceſſive gaming and intemperance, were a little diſcountenanced in the army, I cannot readily ſee what ill conſequences could be apprehended. If gentlemen of that profeſſion were at leaſt obliged to ſome external decorum in their conduct; or even if a profligate life and character were not a means of advancement, and the appearance of piety a moſt infallible hindrance, it is impoſſible the corruptions there ſhould be ſo univerſal and exorbitant. I have been aſſured by ſeveral great officers, that no troops abroad are ſo ill diſciplined as the Engliſh; which cannot well be otherwiſe, while the common ſoldiers have perpetually before their eyes, the vitious example of their leaders; and it is hardly poſſible for thoſe to commit any crime, whereof theſe are not infinitely more guilty, and with leſs temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the gentlemen of the army, that the beaſtly vice of drinking to exceſs hath been lately, from their example, reſtored among us; which for ſome years before was almoſt dropt in England. But, whoever the introducers were, they have ſucceeded to a miracle: many of the young nobility and gentry are already become great proficients, and are under no manner of concern to hide their talent, but are got beyond all ſenſe of ſhame, or fear of reproach.

This might ſoon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young perſon of quality whatſoever, who was notoriouſly addicted to that or any other vice, ſhould be capable of her favour, or e-

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ven admitted into her preſence; with poſitive command to her miniſters, and others in great office, to treat them in the ſame manner: after which, all men who had any regard for their reputation, or any proſpect of preferment, would avoid their commerce. This would quickly make that vice ſo ſcandalous, that thoſe who could not ſubdue, would at leaſt endeavour to diſguiſe it.

By the like methods a ſtop might be put to that ruinous practice of deep gaming: and the reaſon why it prevails ſo much, is, becauſe a treatment *directly oppoſite* in every point is made uſe of to promote it; by which means the laws enacted againſt this abuſe are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied, that the want of ſtrict diſcipline in the univerſities hath been of pernicious conſequence to the youth of this nation, who are there almoſt left entirely to their own management, eſpecially thoſe among them of better quality and fortune; who, becauſe they are not under a neceſſity of making learning their maintenance, are eaſily allowed to paſs their time, and take their degrees with little or no improvement. Than which there cannot well be a greater abſurdity. For if no advancement of knowledge can be had from thoſe places, the time there ſpent is at beſt utterly loſt, becauſe every ornamental part of education is better taught elſewhere. And as for keeping youths out of harm's way, I doubt, where ſo many of them are got together, at full liberty of doing what they pleaſe, it will not anſwer the end. But whatever abuſes, corruptions, or deviations from ſtatutes have crept into the univerſities through neglect, or length of time, they might in a great degree be reformed, by ſtrict injunctions from court (upon each particular) to the viſitors and heads of houſes; beſides the peculiar authority the Queen may have in ſeveral colleges, whereof her predeceſſors were the founders. And among other regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the exceſs of drinking, with that ſcurvy cuſtom among the lads, and parent of the former vice, the taking of tobacco, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary in point of health.

From the univerſities the young nobility, and others

of great fortunes, are ſent for early up to town, for fear of contracting any airs of pedantry by a college-education. Many of the younger gentry retire to the inns of court, where they are wholly left to their own diſcretion. And the conſequence of this remiſſneſs in education appears by obſerving, that nine in ten of thoſe who riſe in the church or the court, the law or the army, are younger brothers, or new men, whoſe narrow fortunes have forced them upon induſtry and application.

As for the inns of court, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to be much degenerated, they muſt needs be the worſt inſtituted ſeminaries in any Chriſtian country; but whether they may be corrected without interpoſition of the legiſlature, I have not ſkill enough to determine. However, it is certain, that all wiſe nations have agreed in the neceſſity of a ſtrict education; which conſiſted, among other things, in the obſervance of moral duties, eſpecially juſtice, temperance, and chaſtity, as well as the knowledge of arts, and bodily exerciſes. But all theſe among us are laughed out of doors.

WITHOUT the leaſt intention to offend the clergy, I cannot but think, that, through a miſtaken notion and practice, they prevent themſelves from doing much ſervice, which otherwiſe might lie in their power, to religion and virtue: I mean, by affecting ſo much to converſe with each other, and caring ſo little to mingle with the laity. They have their particular clubs, and particular coffee-houſes, where they generally appear in cluſters. A ſingle divine dares hardly ſhew his perſon among numbers of fine gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into ſuch company, he is ſilent and ſuſpicious, in continual apprehenſion that ſome pert man of pleaſure ſhould break an unmannerly jeſt, and render him ridiculous. Now, I take this behaviour of the clergy to be juſt as reaſonable, as if the phyſicians ſhould agree to ſpend their time in viſiting one another, or their ſeveral apothecaries, and leave their patients to ſhift for themſelves. In my humble opinion, the clergy's buſineſs lies entirely among the laity: neither is there perhaps a more effectual way to forward the ſalvation of mens ſouls, than for ſpiritual perſons to make themſelves as

agreeable

agreeable as they can in the converſations of the world; for which a learned education gives them great advantage, if they would pleaſe to improve and apply it. It ſo happens, that the *men of pleaſure*, who never go to church, nor uſe themſelves to read books of devotion, form their ideas of the clergy, from a few poor ſtrollers they often obſerve in the ſtreets, or ſneaking out of ſome perſon of quality's houſe; where they are hired by the lady at ten ſhillings a-month: while thoſe of better figure and parts do ſeldom appear to correct theſe notions. And let ſome reaſoners think what they pleaſe, it is certain, that men muſt be brought to eſteem and love the clergy, before they can be perſuaded to be in love with religion. No man values the beſt medicine, if adminiſtered by a phyſician, whoſe perſon he hates or deſpiſes. If the clergy were as forward to appear in all companies, as other gentlemen, and would a little ſtudy the arts of converſation, to make themſelves agreeable, they might be welcome to every party, where there was the leaſt regard for politeneſs or good ſenſe; and conſequently prevent a thouſand vitious or prophane diſcourſes, as well as actions: neither would men of underſtanding complain, that a clergyman was a conſtraint upon the company, becauſe they could not ſpeak blaſphemy or obſcene jeſts before him. While the people are ſo jealous of the clergy's ambition, as to abhor all thoughts of the return of eccleſiaſtic diſcipline among them, I do not ſee any other method left for men of that function to take, in order to reform the world, than by uſing all honeſt arts to make themſelves acceptable to the laity. This, no doubt, is part of that wiſdom of the ſerpent, which the author of Chriſtianity directs; and is the very method uſed by St. Paul, who *became all things to all men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

How to remedy theſe inconveniences, may be a matter of ſome difficulty; ſince the clergy ſeem to be of an opinion, that this humour of ſequeſtering themſelves is a part of their duty; nay, as I remember, they have been told ſo by ſome of their biſhops in their paſtoral letters, particularly by *one* * among them of great merit

* Suppoſed to be Dr. Burnet, Biſhop of Saliſbury.

and diſtinction; who yet, in his own practice, hath all his lifetime taken a courſe directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward ſhame, and fear of ill uſage from the laity, have not a greater ſhare in this miſtaken conduct, than their own inclinations. However, if the outward profeſſion of religion and virtue were once in practice and countenance at court, as well as among all men in office, or who have any hopes or dependence for preferment, a good treatment of the clergy would be the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a reformation; and they would ſoon be wiſe enough to ſee their own duty and intereſt, in qualifying themſelves for lay converſation, when once they were out of fear of being choked by ribaldry or prophaneneſs.

THERE is one further circumſtance upon this occaſion, which I know not whether it will be very orthodox to mention. The clergy are the only ſet of men among us, who conſtantly wear a diſtinct habit from others: the conſequence of which (not in reaſon, but in fact) is this, that as long as any ſcandalous perſons appear in that dreſs, it will continue, in ſome degree, a general mark of contempt. Whoever happens to ſee a *ſcoundrel in a gown*, reeling home at midnight, (a ſight neither *frequent* nor *miraculous*), is apt to entertain an *ill* idea of the whole order, and at the ſame time to be extremely comforted in his own vices. Some remedy might be put to this, if thoſe ſtraggling gentlemen, who come up to town to *ſeek their fortunes*, were fairly diſmiſſed to the Weſt-Indies; where there is work enough, and where ſome better proviſion ſhould be made for them, than I doubt there is at preſent. Or, what if no perſon were allowed to wear the habit, who had not ſome preferment in the church, or at leaſt ſome temporal fortune ſufficient to keep him out of contempt? tho', in my opinion, it were infinitely better, if all the clergy (except the biſhops) were permitted to appear like other men of the graver ſort, unleſs at thoſe ſeaſons when they are doing the buſineſs of their function.

THERE is one abuſe in this town, which wonderfully contributes to the promotion of vice; that ſuch men are often put into the commiſſion of the peace, whoſe intereſt

intereſt it is, that virtue ſhould be utterly baniſhed from among us; who maintain, or at leaſt enrich themſelves by encouraging the groſſeſt immoralities; to whom all the *bands* of the *ward* pay contribution for ſhelter and protection from the laws. Thus theſe worthy magiſtrates, inſtead of leſſening enormities, are the occaſion of juſt twice as much debauchery as there would be without them. For thoſe infamous women are forced upon doubling their work and induſtry, to anſwer double charges, of paying the juſtice, and ſupporting themſelves; like thieves who eſcape the gallows, and are let out to ſteal, in order to diſcharge the goaler's fees.

It is not to be queſtioned, but the Queen and miniſtry might eaſily redreſs this abominable grievance, by enlarging the number of juſtices of the peace, by endeavouring to chuſe men of virtuous principles, by admitting none who have not conſiderable fortunes; perhaps, by receiving into the number ſome of the moſt eminent clergy: then, by forcing all of them, upon ſevere penalties, to act when there is occaſion, and not permitting any who are offered to refuſe the commiſſion. But in theſe two laſt caſes, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the legiſlature.

The reformation of the ſtage is entirely in the power of the Queen; and in the conſequences it hath upon the minds of younger people, doth very well deſerve the ſtricteſt care. Beſides the indecent and prophane paſſages; beſides the perpetual turning into ridicule the very function of the prieſthood, with other irregularities, in moſt modern comedies, which have been often objected to them; it is worth obſerving, the diſtributive juſtice of the authors, which is conſtantly applied to the puniſhment of virtue, and the reward of vice; directly oppoſite to the rules of their beſt critics, as well as to the practice of dramatic poets in all other ages and countries. For example, a country-'ſquire, who is repreſented with no other vice but that of being a clown, and having the provincial accent upon his tongue, which is neither a fault, nor in his power to remedy, muſt be condemned to marry a caſt wench, or a cracked chambermaid. On the other ſide, a rake-hell of the

town, whoſe character is ſet off with no other accomplishment but exceſſive prodigality, profaneneſs, intemperance, and luſt, is rewarded with a lady of great fortune to repair his own, which his vices had almoſt ruined. And as, in a tragedy, the hero is repreſented to have obtained many victories, in order to raiſe his character in the minds of the ſpectators; ſo the hero of a comedy is repreſented to have been victorious in all his intrigues, for the ſame reaſon. I do not remember, that our Engliſh poets ever ſuffered a criminal amour to ſucceed upon the ſtage, till the reign of King Charles II. Ever ſince that time, the alderman is made a cuckold, the deluded virgin is debauched, and adultery and fornication are ſuppoſed to be committed behind the ſcenes, as part of the action. Theſe, and many more corruptions of the theatre, peculiar to our age and nation, need continue no longer, than while the court is content to connive at or neglect them. Surely a penſion would not be ill employed on ſome men of wit, learning, and virtue, who might have power to ſtrike out every offenſive or unbecoming paſſage from plays already written, as well as thoſe that may be offered to the ſtage for the future. By which, and other wiſe regulations, the theatre might become a very innocent and uſeful diverſion, inſtead of being a ſcandal and reproach to our religion and country.

The propoſals I have hitherto made for the advancement of religion and morality, are ſuch as come within reach of the adminiſtration; ſuch as a pious active prince, with a ſteddy reſolution, might ſoon bring to effect. Neither am I aware of any objections to be raiſed againſt what I have advanced; unleſs it ſhould be thought, that the making religion a neceſſary ſtep to intereſt and favour might increaſe hypocriſy among us; and I readily believe it would. But if one in twenty ſhould be brought over to true piety, by this or the like methods, and the other nineteen be only hypocrites, the advantage would ſtill be great. Beſides, hypocriſy is much more eligible than open infidelity and vice; it wears the livery of religion; it acknowledges her authority, and is cautious of giving ſcandal. Nay, a *long* continued diſguiſe is too great a conſtraint upon human

human nature, especially an English disposition. Men would leave off their vices out of mere weariness, rather than undergo the toil and hazard, and perhaps the expence of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with religion, as it is with love; which, by much dissembling, at last grows real.

All other projects to this great end have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against immorality have not been executed; and proclamations occasionally issued out to enforce them are wholly unregarded, as things of form. Religious societies, tho' begun with excellent intention, and by persons of true piety, are said, I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious clubs, and grown a trade to enrich little knavish informers of the meanest rank, such as common constables and broken shopkeepers.

And that some effectual attempt should be made toward such a reformation, is perhaps more necessary than people commonly apprehend; because the ruin of a state is generally preceeded by an universal degeneracy of manners, and contempt of religion; which is entirely our case at present.

Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas. Hor.

Neither is this a matter to be deferred, till a more convenient time of peace and leisure. A reformation in mens faith and morals is the best natural, as well as religious means, to bring the war to a good conclusion: because, if men in trust performed their duty for conscience sake, affairs would not suffer thro' fraud, falsehood, and neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God and his providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for his divine assistance in so just a cause as ours.

Nor could the majesty of the English crown appear, upon any occasion, in a greater lustre, either to foreigners or subjects, than by an administration, which producing such great effects, would discover so much power. And power being the natural appetite of princes, a limited monarch cannot so well gratify it in any thing, as a strict execution of the laws.

Bess[illegible]ged to close with so good

chiefs of quarrels, and lewdneſs, and thefts, and midnight brawls, the diſeaſes of intemperance and venery, and a thouſand other evils needleſs to mention. Nor would it be amiſs, if the maſters of thoſe public houſes were obliged, upon the ſevereſt penalties, to give only a proportioned quantity of drink to every company; and when he found his gueſts diſordered with exceſs, to refuſe them any more.

I believe there is hardly a nation in Chriſtendom, where all kind of fraud is practiſed in ſo unmeaſurable a degree as with us. The lawyer, the tradeſman, the mechanic, have found ſo many arts to deceive in their ſeveral callings, that they far outgrow the common prudence of mankind, which is in no ſort able to fence againſt them. Neither could the legiſlature in any thing more conſult the public good, than by providing ſome effectual remedy againſt this evil; which in ſeveral caſes deſerves greater puniſhment, than many crimes that are capital among us. The vintner, who, by mixing poiſon with his wines, deſtroys more lives than any malignant diſeaſe; the lawyer, who perſuades you to a purchaſe, which he knows is mortgaged for more than the worth, to the ruin of you and your family; the banker or ſcriviner, who takes all your fortune to diſpoſe of, when he has beforehand reſolved to break the following day: do ſurely deſerve the gallows much better than the wretch who is carried there for ſtealing a horſe.

It cannot eaſily be anſwered to God or man, why a law is not made for limiting the preſs; at leaſt ſo far as to prevent the publiſhing of ſuch pernicious books: as, under pretence of *free-thinking*, endeavour to overthrow thoſe tenets in religion, which have been held inviolable almoſt in all ages, by every ſect that pretends to be Chriſtian; and cannot therefore, with any colour of reaſon, be called *points in controverſy*, or *matters of ſpeculation*, as ſome would pretend. The doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *divinity of Chriſt*, the *immortality of the ſoul*, and even the truth of all *revelation*, are daily exploded and denied in books openly printed; tho' it is to be ſuppoſed, neither party † avow ſuch principles, or

† Neither Whig nor Tory. Hawkeſ.

or own the ſupporting of them to be any way neceſſary to their ſervice.

It would be endleſs to ſet down every corruption or defect which requires a remedy from the legiſlative power. Senates are like to have little regard for any propoſals that come from without doors; tho', under a due ſenſe of my own inabilities, I am fully convinced, that the unbiaſſed thoughts of an honeſt and wiſe man, employed on the good of his country, may be better digeſted, than the reſults of a multitude, where faction and intereſt too often prevail; as a ſingle guide may direct the way, better than five hundred who *have contrary views*, or *look aſquint*, or *ſhut their eyes*.

I ſhall therefore mention but one more particular, which I think the parliament ought to take under conſideration; whether it be not a ſhame to our country, and a ſcandal to Chriſtianity, that in many towns, where there is a prodigious increaſe in the number of houſes and inhabitants, ſo little care ſhall be taken for the building of churches, that five parts in ſix of the people are abſolutely hindered from hearing divine ſervice? particularly here in London †, where a ſingle miniſter, with one or two ſorry curates, hath the care ſometimes of above twenty thouſand ſouls incumbent on him: a neglect of religion ſo ignominious, in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized age or country.

But, to leave theſe airy imaginations of introducing new laws for the amendment of mankind; what I principally inſiſt on, is a due execution of the old, which lies wholly in the crown, and in the authority derived from thence. I return therefore to my former aſſertion, That if ſtations of power, truſt, profit, and honour, were conſtantly made the rewards of virtue and piety, ſuch an adminiſtration muſt needs have a mighty influence on the faith and morals of the whole kingdom: and men of great abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the duties of a religious life, in order to qualify themſelves

† This paragraph is known to have given the firſt hint to certain Biſhops, particularly to Biſhop Atterbury, in the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry, to procure a fund for building fifty new churches in London.

ſelves for public ſervice. I may poſſibly be wrong in ſome of the means I preſcribe towards this end: but that is no material objection againſt the deſign itſelf. Let thoſe who are at the helm contrive it better, which perhaps they may eaſily do. Every body will agree, that the diſeaſe is manifeſt, as well as dangerous; that ſome remedy is neceſſary, and that none yet applied hath been effectual; which is a ſufficient excuſe for any man who wiſhes well to his country, to offer his thoughts, when he can have no other end in view but the public good. The preſent Queen is a princeſs of as many and great virtues as ever filled a throne: how would it brighten her character to the preſent and after ages, if ſhe would exert her utmoſt authority to inſtil ſome ſhare of thoſe virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn only from her example? and, be it ſpoke with all the veneration poſſible for ſo excellent a ſovereign, her beſt endeavours in this weighty affair are a moſt important part of her duty, as well as of her intereſt, and her honour.

But it muſt be confeſſed, that, as things are now, every man thinks he has laid in a ſufficient ſtock of merit, and may pretend to any employment, provided he hath been loud and frequent in declaring himſelf hearty for the government. It is true, he is a *man of pleaſure*, and a *freethinker*; that is, in other words, he is profligate in his morals, and a deſpiſer of religion; but in point of party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an aſſertor of liberty and property; he rattles it out againſt *Popery* and *arbitrary power*, and *prieſt craft* and *high-church*. It is enough: he is a perſon fully qualified for any employment in the court or the navy, the law or the revenue; where he will be ſure to leave no arts untried of bribery, fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion, that he can practiſe with any hope of impunity. No wonder ſuch men are true to a government, where liberty runs high, where property, *however attained*, is ſo well ſecured, and where the adminiſtration is at leaſt ſo gentle: it is impoſſible they could chuſe any other conſtitution, without changing to their loſs.

Fidelity to a preſent eſtabliſhment is indeed the principal means to defend it from a foreign enemy; but without

without other qualifications, will not prevent corruptions from within; and ſtates are more often ruined by theſe than the other.

To conclude: Whether the propoſals I have offered towards a reformation, be ſuch as are moſt prudent and convenient, may probably be a queſtion: but it is none at all, whether ſome reformation be abſolutely neceſſary; becauſe the nature of things is ſuch, that if abuſes be not remedied, they will certainly increaſe, nor ever ſtop till they end in a ſubverſion of a commonwealth. As there muſt always of neceſſity be ſome corruptions, ſo, in a well-inſtituted ſtate, the executive power will be always contending againſt them, by *reducing things* (as Machiavel ſpeaks) *to their firſt principles*, never letting abuſes grow inveterate, or multiply ſo far that it will be hard to find remedies, and perhaps impoſſible to apply them. As he that would keep his houſe in repair, muſt attend every little breach or flaw, and ſupply it immediately, elſe time alone will bring all to ruin; how much more the common accidents of ſtorms and rain? He muſt live in perpetual danger of his houſe falling about his ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the ground, perhaps upon a new foundation, or at leaſt in a new form, which may neither be ſo ſafe, nor ſo convenient as the old.

The SENTIMENTS of a CHURCH-OF-ENGLAND MAN with reſpect to RELIGION and GOVERNMENT *.

Written in the year 1708.

WHOEVER hath examined the conduct and proceedings of both *parties* for ſome years paſt, whether in or out of power, cannot well conceive it poſſible to go far towards the extremes of either, without offering ſome violence to his integrity or underſtanding. A wiſe and a good man may indeed be ſometimes induced to comply with a number, whoſe opinion he generally approves, tho' it be perhaps againſt his own. But this liberty ſhould be made uſe of upon very few occaſions, and thoſe of ſmall importance

* This piece is adapted to that particular period in which it was written. The ſtyle of the whole pamphlet is nervous, and, except in ſome few places, impartial. The ſtate of Holland is juſtly, and, at the ſame time, conciſely delineated. This tract is very well worth one's reading and attention: and it confirms an obſervation which will perpetually occur, that Swift excels in whatever ſtyle or manner he aſſumes. When he is in earneſt, his ſtrength of reaſon carries with it conviction; when in jeſt, every competitor in the race of wit is left behind him. *Orrery.*

This piece ſeemeth to have been one of Swift's projects for uniting of parties, and written with a deſign to check that rage and violence, which ſubſiſted in thoſe times between the contending factions of *Whig* and *Tory*; and perhaps to recommend, in the place of that abominable rancour and malice, which had broken all the laws of charity and hoſpitality among human kind, thoſe candid ſalutary principles, with reſpect to religion and government, which, if rightly comprehended and vigorouſly purſued, might certainly preſerve the whole conſtitution, both of *church* and *ſtate*, for ten thouſand generations. *Swift.*

This appears to be an apology for the Tories, and a juſtification of them againſt the miſrepreſentations of the Whigs, who were then in the miniſtry, and uſed every artifice to perpetuate their power. Mr. Harely, afterwards Lord Oxford, had, by the influence of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, been lately removed from his poſt of Principal Secretary of State; and Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, reſigned his place of Secretary at War; and Sir Simon Harcourt that of Attorney-General. Hawkeſ.

ance, and then only with a view of bringing over his own ſide another time *to* ſomething of greater and more public moment. But to ſacrifice the innocency of a friend, the good of our country, or our own conſcience, to the humour, or paſſion, or intereſt of a party, plainly ſhews, that either our heads or our hearts are not as they ſhould be. Yet this very practice is the very fundamental law of each faction among us; as may be obvious to any, who will impartially, and without engagement, be at the pains to examine their actions: which however is not ſo eaſy a taſk; for it ſeems a principle in human nature, to incline one way more than another, even in matters where we are wholly unconcerned. And it is a common obſervation, that in reading a hiſtory of facts done a thouſand years ago, or ſtanding by at play among thoſe who are perfect ſtrangers to us, we are apt to find our hopes and wiſhes engaged on a ſudden in favour of one ſide more than another. No wonder then that we are all ſo ready to intereſt ourſelves in the courſe of public affairs, where the moſt inconſiderable have ſome *real* ſhare, and, by the wonderful importance which every man is of to himſelf, a very great *imaginary* one.

AND indeed, when the two parties that divide the whole commonwealth, come once to a rupture, without any hopes left of forming a third with better principles, to balance the others, it ſeems every man's duty to chooſe one of the two ſides, tho' he cannot entirely approve of either; and all pretences to neutrality are juſtly exploded by both, being too ſtale and obvious; only intending the ſafety and eaſe of a few individuals, while the public is imbroiled. This was the opinion and practice of the latter Cato, whom I eſteem to have been the wiſeſt and beſt of all the Romans *. But before things proceed to open violence, the trueſt ſervice a private man may hope to do his country, is by unbiaſſing his mind as much as poſſible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the rival powers; which muſt needs be owned a fair proceeding with the world; becauſe it is of all others the leaſt conſiſtent with

* One of the ſextumvirate in Gulliver, part 3. chap. 7. vol. 4. p. 187.

the common design of making a fortune by the *merit* of an *opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able in qualifying myself to be such a moderator. I believe I am no *bigot* in religion, and I am sure I am none in government. I converse in full freedom with many considerable men of both parties; and if not in equal number, it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance there, more under one ministry than another. Then, I am not under the necessity of declaring myself by the prospect of an employment. And, lastly, if all this be not sufficient, I industriously conceal my name, which wholly exempts me from any hopes and fears in delivering my opinion.

In consequence of this free use of my reason, I cannot possibly think so well or so ill of either party, as they would endeavour to persuade the world of each other, and of themselves. For instance, I do not charge it upon the body of the *Whigs* or the *Tories*, that their several principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the religion of the church of Rome, or a commonwealth, and arbitrary power. For why should any party be accused of a principle, which they solemnly disown and protest against? But to this they have a mutual answer ready: they both assure us, that their adversaries are not to be believed; that they disown their principles out of fear, which are manifest enough, when we examine their practices. To prove this, they will produce instances, on one side, either of avowed Presbyterians, or persons of libertine and atheistical tenets; and on the other, of professed Papists, or such as are openly in the interest of the abdicated family. Now, it is very natural for all subordinate sects and denominations in a state, to side with some general party, and to chuse that which they find to agree with themselves in some general principle. Thus, at the *restoration*, the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and other sects, did all, with very good reason, unite and solder up their several schemes to join against the *church*; who, without regard to their distinctions, treated them all as equal adversaries. Thus our present dissenters do very naturally close in with the Whigs, who profess *moderation*, declare they

they abhor all thoughts of *perſecution*, and think it hard, that thoſe who differ only in a few *ceremonies* and *ſpeculations*, ſhould be denied the privilege and profit of ſerving their country in the higheſt employments of ſtate. Thus, the Atheiſts, libertines, deſpiſers of religion and revelation in general; that is to ſay, all thoſe who uſually paſs under the name of *Freethinkers*, do properly join with the ſame body; becauſe *they* likewiſe preach up *moderation*, and are not ſo over-nice to diſtinguiſh between an unlimited liberty of conſcience, and an unlimited freedom of opinion. Then, on the other ſide, the profeſſed firmneſs of the Tories for Epiſcopacy, as an apoſtolical inſtitution; their averſion to thoſe ſects who lie under the reproach of having once deſtroyed their conſtitution, and who, they imagine, by too indiſcreet a zeal for reformation, have defaced the primitive model of the church; next, their veneration for monarchical government in the common courſe of ſucceſſion, and their hatred to republican ſchemes: theſe, I ſay, are principles which not only the nonjuring zealots profeſs, but even Papiſts themſelves fall readily in with. And every extreme here mentioned, flings a general ſcandal upon the whole body it pretends to adhere to.

But ſurely no man whatſoever ought, in juſtice or good manners, to be charged with principles he actually diſowns, unleſs his practice do openly, and without the leaſt room for doubt, contradict his profeſſion; not upon ſmall ſurmiſes, or becauſe he has the misfortune to have ill men ſometimes agree with him in a few general ſentiments. However, tho' the extremes of *Whig* and *Tory* ſeem, with little juſtice, to have drawn religion into their controverſies, wherein they have ſmall concern; yet they both have borrowed one leading principle from the abuſe of it; which is, to have built their ſeveral ſyſtems of political faith, not upon inquiries after truth, but upon oppoſition to each other; upon injurious appellations, charging their adverſaries with horrid opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of charity; *et neuter falſo*.

In order to remove theſe prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual, than to deſcribe the ſentiments of a *church-of-England man* with reſpect to

religion and *government*. This I ſhall endeavour to do in ſuch a *manner*, as may not be liable to the leaſt objection from either party, and which I am confident would be aſſented to by great numbers in both, if they were not miſled to thoſe mutual miſrepreſentations, by ſuch motives as they would be aſhamed to own.

I ſhall begin with *religion*.

AND here, tho' it makes an odd ſound, yet it is neceſſary to ſay, that whoever profeſſeth himſelf a member of the church of England, ought to believe a God, and his providence, together with revealed religion, and the divinity of *Chriſt*. For beſides thoſe many thouſands, who (to ſpeak in the phraſe of divines) do practically deny all this by the immorality of their lives, there is no ſmall number, who, in their converſation and writings, directly, or by conſequence, endeavour to overthrow it: yet all theſe place themſelves in the liſt of the national church, tho' at the ſame time (as it is highly reaſonable) they are great ſticklers for liberty of conſcience.

To enter upon particulars: A *church-of-England man* has a true veneration for the ſcheme eſtabliſhed among us of eccleſiaſtic government; and tho' he will not determine whether Epiſcopacy be of divine right, he is ſure it is moſt agreeable to primitive inſtitution; fitteſt of all others for preſerving order and purity, and, under its preſent regulations, beſt calculated for our civil ſtate: he ſhould therefore think the aboliſhment of that order among us, would prove a mighty ſcandal and corruption to our faith, and manifeſtly dangerous to our monarchy; nay, he would defend it by arms againſt all the powers on earth, except our own legiſlature; in which caſe he would ſubmit as to a general calamity, a dearth, or a peſtilence.

As to rites and ceremonies, and forms of prayer, he allows there might be ſome uſeful alterations: and more, which in the proſpect of uniting Chriſtians might be very ſupportable, as things declared in their own nature indifferent; to which he therefore would readily comply, if the *clergy*, or (tho' this be not ſo fair a *method*) if the *legiſlature* ſhould direct: yet at the ſame time

time he cannot altogether blame the former for their unwillingneſs to conſent to any alteration; which, beſide the trouble, and perhaps diſgrace, would certainly never produce the good effects intended by it. The only condition that could make it prudent and juſt for the clergy to comply in altering the ceremonial, or any other indifferent part, would be a firm reſolution in the legiſlature to interpoſe, by ſome ſtrict and effectual laws, to prevent the riſing and ſpreading of new ſects, how plauſible ſoever, for the future; elſe there muſt never be an end: and it would be to act like a man, who ſhould pull down and change the ornaments of his houſe, in compliance to every one who was diſpoſed to find fault as he paſſed by; which, beſides the perpetual trouble and expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in time deſtroy the building. Sects in a ſtate ſeem only tolerated with any reaſon, becauſe they are already ſpread; and becauſe it would not be agreeable with ſo mild a government, or ſo pure a religion as ours, to uſe violent methods againſt great numbers of *miſtaken* people, while they do not manifeſtly endanger the conſtitution of either. But the greateſt advocates for general liberty of conſcience will allow, that they ought to be checked in their beginnings, if they will allow them to be an evil at all, or, which is the ſame thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the peace of the ſtate, that there ſhould be none. But while the clergy conſider the natural temper of mankind in general, or of our own country in particular, what aſſurances can they have, that any compliances they ſhall make, will remove the evil of diſſenſion, while the liberty ſtill continues of profeſſing whatever new opinions we pleaſe? Or how can it be imagined, that the body of diſſenting teachers, who muſt be all undone by ſuch a revolution, will not caſt about for ſome new objections to with-hold their flocks, and draw in freſh proſelytes by ſome further innovations or refinements?

Upon theſe reaſons he is for tolerating ſuch different forms in religious worſhip as are already admitted; but by no means for leaving it in the power of thoſe who are tolerated, to advance their own models upon the ruin of what is already eſtabliſhed; which it is natural

for all ſects to deſire, and which they cannot be juſtified by any conſiſtent principles, if they do not endeavour; and yet which they cannot ſucceed in, without the utmoſt danger to the public peace.

To prevent theſe inconveniences, he thinks it highly juſt, that all rewards of truſt, profit, or dignity, which the ſtate leaves in the diſpoſal of the adminiſtration, ſhould be given only to thoſe whoſe principles direct them to preſerve the conſtitution in all its parts. In the late affair of *occaſional conformity*, the general argument of thoſe who were againſt it, was not, to deny it an evil in itſelf, but that the remedy propoſed was *violent*, untimely, and improper; which is the Biſhop of Saliſbury's * opinion, in the ſpeech he made and publiſhed againſt the bill. But however juſt their fears or complaints might have been upon that ſcore, he thinks it a little too groſs and precipitate, to employ their writers already in arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt, upon no wiſer a maxim, than that no man ſhould, on the account of conſcience, be deprived the liberty of ſerving his country; a topic which may be equally applied to admit *Papiſts*, *Atheiſts*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens*, and *Jews*. If the church wants members of its own to employ in the ſervice of the public, or be ſo unhappily contrived, as to exclude from its communion ſuch perſons who are likelieſt to have great abilities, it is time it ſhould be altered, and reduced into ſome more perfect, or at leaſt more popular form: but in the mean while it is not altogether improbable, that when thoſe who diſlike the conſtitution, are ſo very zealous in their offers for the ſervice of their country, they are not wholly unmindful of their party, or of themſelves.

THE Dutch, whoſe practice is ſo often quoted to prove and celebrate the great advantages of a general liberty of conſcience, have yet a national religion profeſſed by all who bear office among them. But why ſhould they be a precedent for us, either in religion or government? Our country differs from theirs, as well in ſituation, ſoil, and productions of nature, as in the genius and complexion of inhabitants. They are a commonwealth, founded on a ſudden, by a deſperate attempt,

* Dr. Burnet.

tempt, in a desperate condition; not formed or digested into a regular system by mature thought and reason, but huddled up under the pressure of sudden exigencies; calculated for no long duration, and hitherto subsisting by accident in the midst of contending powers, who cannot yet agree about sharing it amongst them. These difficulties do indeed preserve them from any great corruptions, which their crazy constitution would extremely subject them to in a long peace. That confluence of people in a persecuting age to a place of refuge nearest at hand, put them upon the necessity of trade, to which they wisely gave all ease and encouragement. And if we could think fit to imitate them in this last particular, there would need no more to invite foreigners among us; who seem to think no farther than how to secure their property and conscience, without projecting any share in that government which gives them protection, or calling it *persecution* if it be denied them. But I speak it for the honour of our administration, that altho' our sects are not so numerous as those in Holland, which I presume is not our *fault*, and I hope is not our *misfortune*, we much excel them, and all *Christendom* besides in our indulgence to tender consciences †. One single compliance with the national form of receiving the sacrament, is all we require to qualify any sectary among us for the greatest employments in the state; after which he is at liberty to rejoin his own assemblies for the rest of his life. Besides, I will suppose any of the numerous sects in Holland to have so far prevailed, as to have raised a civil war, destroyed their government and religion, and put their *administrators* to death; after which I will suppose the people to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old foundation. Then I would put a query, whether that sect which was the unhappy instrument of all this confusion, could reasonably expect to be intrusted for the future with the greatest employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them?

To go on with the sentiments of a *church-of-England man*:

† When this was written, there was no law against occasional conformity.

man: He does not see how that mighty passion for the church, which some men pretend, can well consist with those indignities and that contempt they bestow on the persons of the clergy. It is a strange mark whereby to distinguish *high-churchmen*, that they are such who imagine the clergy can never be too *low*. He thinks the maxim these gentlemen are so fond of, that they are for an humble clergy, is a very good one: and so is he, and for an humble laity too; since humility is a virtue that perhaps equally befits and adorns every station of life.

BUT then, if the scribblers on the other side freely speak the sentiments of their party, a divine of the church of England cannot look for much better quarter from thence. You shall observe nothing more frequent in their weekly papers, than a way of affecting to confound the terms of *clergy* and *high-church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the calumny they can invent. They will tell you, they honour a clergyman; but talk at the same time, as if there were not three in the kingdom who could fall in with their definition. After the like manner they insult the *universities*, as poisoned fountains, and corrupters of youth.

Now, it seems clear to me, that the *Whigs* might easily have procured and maintained a majority among the clergy, and perhaps in the universities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this intemperance of speech and virulence of pen, in the worst and most prostitute of their party: among whom there hath been, for some years past, such a perpetual clamour against the ambition, the implacable temper, and the covetousness of the *priesthood*; such a cant of *high-church*, and persecution, and being *priest-ridden*; so many reproaches about *narrow principles* or *terms of communion*; then such scandalous reflections on the *universities*, for infecting the youth of the nation with arbitrary and *Jacobite* principles, that it was natural for those who had the care of religion and education, to apprehend some general design of altering the constitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, because it could not easily be forgot, that whatever opposition was

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made to the uſurpations of King James, proceeded altogether from the church of England, and chiefly from the *clergy*, and one of the *univerſities*. For if it were of any uſe to recal matters of fact, what is more notorious than that prince's applying himſelf firſt to the church of England, and, upon their refuſal to fall in with his meaſures, making the like advances to the *diſſenters* of all kinds? who readily and almoſt univerſally complied with him, affecting, in their numerous addreſſes and pamphlets, the ſtyle of *our brethren the Roman Catholics*; whoſe intereſts they put on the ſame foot with their own: and ſome of Cromwel's officers took poſts in the army raiſed againſt the Prince of Orange. Theſe proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the provocations they had met from the church in King Charles's reign; which, tho' perhaps excuſable upon the ſcore of human infirmity, are not by any means a plea of merit equal to the conſtancy and ſufferings of the biſhops and clergy, or of the head and fellows of Magdalen-college, that furniſhed the Prince of Orange's declaration with ſuch powerful arguments to juſtify and promote the *revolution*.

THEREFORE a *church-of-England man* abhors the humours of the age, in delighting to fling ſcandals upon the clergy in general; which, beſides the diſgrace to the *reformation*, and to religion itſelf, caſt an ignominy upon the kingdom that it doth not deſerve. We have no better materials to compound the prieſthood of, than the maſs of mankind, which corrupted as it is, thoſe who receive orders muſt have ſome vices to leave behind them when they enter into the church; and if a few do ſtill adhere, it is no wonder, but rather a great one, that they are no worſe. Therefore he cannot think *ambition* or *love of power*, more juſtly laid to their charge, than to other men; becauſe that would be to make religion itſelf, or at leaſt the beſt conſtitution of *church government*, anſwerable for the errors and depravity of human nature.

WITHIN theſe laſt two hundred years, all ſorts of temporal power have been wreſted from the clergy, and much of their eccleſiaſtic: the reaſon or juſtice of which proceeding I ſhall not examine; but that the remedies

were

were a little too violent, with reſpect to their *poſſeſſions*, the legiſlature hath lately confeſſed by the remiſſion of their *firſt fruits*. Neither do the common libellers deny this; who, in their invectives, only tax the church with an inſatiable deſire of power and wealth, (equally common to all bodies of men, as well as individuals), but thank God, that the laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth obſerving the juſtice of parties. The ſects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard uſage, to be reproached now, after fifty years, for overturning the ſtate, for the murder of a King, and the indignity of an uſurpation; yet theſe very men, and their partiſans, are continually reproaching the clergy, and laying to their charge the pride, the avarice, the luxury, the ignorance, and ſuperſtition of *Popiſh* times, for a thouſand years paſt.

HE thinks it a ſcandal to government, that ſuch an unlimited liberty ſhould be allowed of publiſhing books againſt thoſe doctrines in religion, wherein all Chriſtians have agreed; much more to connive at ſuch tracts as reject all revelation, and by their conſequences often deny the very being of a God. Surely it is not a ſufficient atonement for the writers, that they profeſs much loyalty to the preſent government, and ſprinkle up and down ſome arguments in favour of the *diſſenters*; that they diſpute as ſtrenuouſly as they can, for liberty of conſcience, and inveigh largely againſt all eccleſiaſtics under the name of *high-church*; and, in ſhort, under the ſhelter of ſome popular principles in politics and religion, undermine the foundations of all piety and virtue.

As he doth not reckon every *ſchiſm* of that damnable nature which ſome would repreſent, ſo he is very far from cloſing with the new opinion of thoſe who would make it no crime at all; and argue at a wild rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the variety of faith and worſhip, as he is with the varieties of nature. To ſuch abſurdities are men carried by the affectation of *free-thinking*, and *removing the prejudices of education*; under which head they have for ſome time begun to liſt *morality* and *religion*. It is certain, that before the rebellion in 1642, tho' the number of *Puritans* (as they were then called)

called) were as great as it is with us, and tho' they affected to follow paſtors of that denomination; yet thoſe paſtors had epiſcopal ordination, poſſeſſed preferments in the church, and were ſometimes promoted to biſhoprics themſelves. But a breach in the general form of worſhip was, in thoſe days, reckoned ſo dangerous and ſinful in itſelf, and ſo offenſive to *Roman Catholics* at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted: neither, I believe, was the expedient then found out, of maintaining ſeparate paſtors out of private purſes.

When a *ſchiſm* is once ſpread in a nation, there grows at length a diſpute, which are the ſchiſmatics. Without entering on the arguments uſed by both ſides among us to fix the guilt on each other, it is certain, that, in the ſenſe of the law, the *ſchiſm* lies on that ſide which oppoſeth itſelf to the religion of the ſtate. I leave it among the *divines* to dilate upon the danger of *ſchiſm* as a ſpiritual evil; but I would conſider it only as a temporal one. And I think it clear, that any great ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, tho' to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an occaſion of endangering the public peace; becauſe it will compoſe a body always in reſerve, prepared to follow any diſcontented heads, upon the plauſible pretexts of advancing *true religion*, and oppoſing error, ſuperſtition, or idolatry. For this reaſon Plato lays it down as a maxim, That *men ought to worſhip the gods according to the laws of the country*; and he introduces Socrates, in his laſt diſcourſe, utterly diſowning the crime laid to his charge, of *teaching new divinities* or methods of worſhip. Thus the poor *Hugonots* of France were engaged in a civil war by the ſpecious pretences of ſome, who, under the guiſe of religion, ſacrificed ſo many thouſand lives to their own ambition and revenge. Thus was the whole body of *Puritans* in England drawn to be inſtruments or abettors of all manner of villany, by the artifices of a *few men*, whoſe deſigns from the firſt were levelled to deſtroy the conſtitution both of religion and government *. And thus, even in Holland itſelf,

* Lord Clarendon's hiſtory.

where it is pretended that the variety of ſects live ſo amicably together, and in ſuch perfect obedience to the magiſtrate, it is notorious, how a turbulent party joining with the *Arminians*, did, in the memory of our fathers, attempt to deſtroy the liberty of that republic. So that, upon the whole, where ſects are tolerated in a ſtate, it is fit they ſhould enjoy a full liberty of conſcience, and every other privilege of free-born ſubjects, *to which no power is annexed.* And to preſerve their obedience upon all emergencies, a government cannot give them too much eaſe, nor truſt them with too little *power*.

THE *clergy* are uſually charged with a *perſecuting ſpirit*, which they are ſaid to diſcover by an implacable hatred to all *diſſenters:* and this appears to be more unreaſonable, becauſe they ſuffer leſs in their intereſts by a *toleration*, than any of the *conforming laity*; for while the *church* remains in its preſent form, no diſſenter can poſſibly have any ſhare in its dignities, revenues, or power; whereas, by once receiving the ſacrament, he is rendered capable of the higheſt employments in the ſtate. And it is very poſſible, that a narrow education, together with a mixture of human infirmity, may help to beget among ſome of the *clergy in poſſeſſion* ſuch an averſion and contempt for all *innovators*, as *phyſicians* are apt to have for *empirics*; or *lawyers* for *pettifoggers*, or *merchants* for *pedlars*: but ſince the number of ſectaries doth not concern the clergy, either in point of intereſt or conſcience, (it being an evil not in their power to remedy), it is more fair and reaſonable to ſuppoſe their diſlike proceeds from the dangers they apprehend to the peace of the commonwealth, in the ruin whereof they muſt expect to be the firſt and greateſt ſufferers.

To conclude this *ſection*, it muſt be obſerved, that there is a very good word, which hath of late ſuffered much by both parties; I mean *moderation*; which the one ſide very juſtly diſowns, and the other as unjuſtly pretends to. Beſide what paſſes every day in converſation, any man who reads the papers publiſhed by Mr. Leſley, and others of his ſtamp, muſt needs conclude, that if this author could make the nation ſee his adverſaries under the colours he paints them in, we have nothing elſe

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to do, but riſe as one man, and deſtroy ſuch wretches from the face of the earth. On the other ſide, how ſhall we excuſe the advocates for *moderation?* among whom I could appeal to a hundred papers of univerſal approbation, by the cauſe they were writ for, which lay ſuch principles to the whole body of the *Tories*, as, if they were true, and believed, our next buſineſs ſhould, in prudence, be, to erect gibbets in every pariſh, and hang them out of the way. But I ſuppoſe it is preſumed, the common people underſtand *raillery*, or at leaſt *rhetoric*; and will not take *hyperboles* in too literal a ſenſe; which however in ſome junctures might prove a deſperate experiment. And this is *moderation*, in the *modern* ſenſe of the word; to which, ſpeaking impartially, the biggots of both parties are *equally* intitled.

SECT. II.

The ſentiments of a church-of-England man, *with reſpect to government.*

WE look upon it as a very juſt reproach, tho' we cannot agree where to fix it, that there ſhould be ſo much violence and hatred in religious matters among men who agree in all fundamentals, and only differ in ſome ceremonies, or, at moſt, mere ſpeculative points. Yet is not this frequently the caſe between contending parties in a ſtate? For inſtance, do not the generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us profeſs to agree in the ſame *fundamentals*, their loyalty to the Queen, their abjuration of the *pretender*, the ſettlement of the crown in the Proteſtant line, and a *revolution*-principle? their affection to the church eſtabliſhed, with toleration of diſſenters? Nay, ſometimes they go farther, and paſs over into each other's principles; the *Whigs* become great aſſerters of the *prerogative*, and the *Tories* of the people's liberty; theſe *crying down* almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops, and *thoſe defending* them: ſo that the differences fairly ſtated, would be much of a ſort with thoſe in religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who ſhould take place*, or *go*

in and out firſt, or *kiſs the Queen's hand*; and what are theſe but a few *court-ceremonies?* or, *who ſhould be in the miniſtry*; and what is that to the body of the nation, but a mere *ſpeculative point?* Yet I think it muſt be allowed, that no religious ſects ever carried their mutual averſions to greater heights than our ſtate-parties have done, who, the more to inflame their paſſions, have mixed religious and civil animoſities together; borrowing one of their appellations from the church, with the addition of *high* and *low*, how little ſoever their diſputes relate to the term, as it is generally underſtood.

I now proceed to deliver the ſentiments of a *church-of-England man*, with reſpect to government.

HE doth not think the church of England ſo narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular ſpecies of government; nor doth he think any one regular ſpecies of government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *ſchools* have, all of them, their ſeveral perfections, and are ſubject to their ſeveral depravations. However, few ſtates are ruined by any defect in their inſtitution, but generally by the corruption of manners, againſt which the beſt inſtitution is no longer a ſecurity, and without which a very ill one may ſubſiſt and flouriſh; whereof there are two pregnant inſtances now in Europe. The firſt is, the *ariſtocracy* of Venice; which, founded upon the wiſeſt maxims, and digeſted by a great length of time, hath in our age admitted ſo many abuſes, through the degeneracy of the nobles, that the period of its duration ſeems to approach. The other is the united republics of the *States-General*, where a vein of temperance, induſtry, parſimony, and a public ſpirit, running through the whole body of the people, hath preſerved an infant commonwealth, of an untimely birth and ſickly conſtitution, for above an hundred years, through ſo many dangers and difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have ſtruggled againſt without thoſe advantages.

WHERE ſecurity of perſon and property are preſerved by laws, which none but the *whole* can repeal, there the great ends of government are provided for, whether the adminiſtration be in the hands of *one* or of *many*. Where

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any one *person* or *body* of men, who do not represent the *whole*, seize into their hands the power in the last resort, there is properly no longer a government, but what Aristotle and his followers call the *abuse* and *corruption* of one. This distinction excludes arbitrary power, in whatever numbers; which, notwithstanding all that Hobbes, Filmer, and others, have said to its advantage, I look upon as a greater evil than *anarchy* itself; as much as a *savage* is in a happier state of life, than a *slave* at the oar.

It is reckoned ill manners, as well as unreasonable, for men to quarrel upon difference in opinion; because that is usually supposed to be a thing which no man can help in himself. But this I do not conceive to be an universal infallible maxim, except in those cases where the question is pretty equally disputed among the learned and the wise. Where it is otherwise, a man of tolerable reason, some experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he has got into a wrong opinion, tho' the whole course of his mind and inclination would persuade him to believe it true: he may be convinced that he is in an error, tho' he does not see where it lies, by the bad effects of it in the common conduct of his life, and by observing those persons, for whose wisdom and goodness he hath the greatest deference, to be of a contrary sentiment. According to Hobbes's comparison of *reasoning* with *casting up accounts*, whoever finds a mistake in the *sum total*, must allow himself out, tho', after repeated trials, he may not see in which article he has miscreckoned. I will instance in one opinion, which I look upon every man obliged in conscience to quit, or in prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in defence of absolute power in a single person, tho' he offers the old plausible plea, that *it is his opinion, which he cannot help, unless he be convinced*, ought in all free states to be treated as the common enemy of mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy charge upon the *clergy* of the two reigns before the *revolution*, who, under the terms of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, are said to have preached up the unlimited power of the prince, because they found it a doctrine that pleased the court, and made way for their

preferment. And I believe, there may be truth enough in this accuſation to convince us, that human frailty will too often interpoſe itſelf among perſons of the holieſt function. However, it may be offered in excuſe for the clergy, that in the beſt ſocieties there are ſome ill members, which a corrupted court and miniſtry will induſtriouſly find out and introduce. Beſides, it is manifeſt, that the greater number of thoſe who held and preached this doctrine, were miſguided by equivocal terms, and by perfect ignorance in the principles of government, which they had not made any part of their ſtudy. The queſtion originally put, and as I remember to have heard it diſputed in public ſchools, was this, *Whether, under any pretence whatſoever, it may be lawful to reſiſt the ſupreme magiſtrate?* which was held in the negative; and this is certainly the right opinion. But many of the clergy, and other learned men, deceived by a dubious expreſſion, miſtook the *object* to which *paſſive obedience* was due. By the *ſupreme magiſtrate* is properly underſtood the *legiſlative* power, which in all governments muſt be abſolute and unlimited. But the word *magiſtrate* ſeeming to denote a *ſingle perſon*, and to expreſs the *executive* power, it came to paſs, that the obedience due to the *legiſlature* was, for want of knowing or conſidering this eaſy diſtinction, miſapplied to the *adminiſtration*. Neither is it any wonder, that the clergy, or other well-meaning people, ſhould fall into this error, which deceived *Hobbes* himſelf ſo far, as to be the foundation of all the political miſtakes in his books; where he perpetually confounds the *executive* with the *legiſlative* power; tho' all well-inſtituted ſtates have ever placed them in different hands; as may be obvious to thoſe who know any thing of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other republics of Greece, as well as the greater ones of Carthage and Rome.

BESIDES, it is to be conſidered, that when theſe doctrines began to be preached among us, the kingdom had not quite worn out the memory of that horrid *rebellion*, under the conſequences of which it had groaned almoſt twenty years. And a *weak prince*, in conjunction with a ſucceſſion of moſt proſtitute miniſters, began again to diſpoſe the people to new attempts, which

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it was, no doubt, the clergy's duty to endeavour to prevent; tho' some of them, for want of knowledge in temporal affairs, and others, perhaps, from a worse principle, proceeded upon a topic, that, strictly followed, would inslave all mankind.

Among other theological arguments made use of in those times in praise of monarchy, and justification of absolute obedience to a prince, there seemed to be one of a singular nature. It was urged, That *heaven* was governed by a *monarch*, who had none to controul his power, but was absolutely obeyed; then it followed, that earthly governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated the government in heaven. All which I look upon as the strongest argument against *despotic* power that ever was offered; since no reason can possibly be assigned, why it is best for the world that God almighty hath such a power, which doth not directly prove that no mortal man should ever have the like.

But tho' a *church-of-England man* thinks every species of government equally *lawful*, he does not think them equally *expedient*; or for every country indifferently. There may be something in the climate, naturally disposing men towards one sort of obedience; as it is manifest all over *Asia*, where we never read of any commonwealth, except some small ones on the western coasts established by the Greeks. There may be a great deal in the situation of a country, and in the present *genius* of the people. It hath been observed, that the temperate climates usually run into moderate governments, and the extremes into despotic power. It is a remark of Hobbes, that the youth of England are corrupted in their principles of government, by reading the authors of Greece and Rome, who writ under commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the honour of liberty, that while the rest of the known world was over-run with the arbitrary government of single persons, *arts* and *sciences* took their rise, and flourished, only in those few small territories where the people were *free*. And tho' *learning* may continue after *liberty* is lost, as it did in Rome, for a while, upon the foundations laid under the commonwealth,

wealth, and the particular patronage of ſome emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a *tyranny* in any nation: becauſe *ſlavery* is, of all things, the greateſt clog and obſtacle to *ſpeculation*. And, indeed, arbitrary power is but the firſt natural ſtep from *anarchy*, or the *ſavage life*; the adjuſting *power* and *freedom* being an effect and conſequence of maturer thinking: and this is no where ſo duly regulated as in a limited monarchy; becauſe I believe it may paſs for a maxim in ſtate, That *the adminiſtration cannot be placed in too* few *hands*, nor the *legiſlature in too* many. Now, in this material point the conſtitution of the Engliſh government far exceeds all others at this time on the earth; to which the preſent eſtabliſhment of the *church* doth ſo happily agree, that I think, whoever is an enemy to *either*, muſt of neceſſity be ſo to *both*.

HE thinks, as our monarchy is conſtituted, an *hereditary* right is much to be preferred before *election*; becauſe the government here, eſpecially by ſome late amendments, is ſo regularly diſpoſed in all its parts, that it almoſt *executes* itſelf: and therefore, upon the death of a prince among us, the adminiſtration goes on without any rub or interruption. For the ſame reaſons, we have leſs to apprehend from the *weakneſs* or *fury* of our monarchs, who have ſuch wiſe councils to guide the firſt, and laws to reſtrain the other. And therefore this hereditary right ſhould be kept ſo ſacred, as never to break the ſucceſſion, unleſs where the preſerving it may endanger the conſtitution; which is not from any intrinſic merit or unalienable right in a *particular family*, but to avoid the conſequences that uſually attend the ambition of competitors, to which elective kingdoms are expoſed; and which is the only obſtacle to hinder them from arriving at the greateſt perfection that government can poſſibly reach. Hence appears the abſurdity of that diſtinction between a king *de facto* and one *de jure*, with reſpect to us. For every *limited* monarch is a king *de jure*; becauſe he governs by the conſent of the *whole*, which is authority ſufficient to aboliſh all precedent right. If a king come in by *conqueſt*, he is no longer a *limited* monarch; if he afterwards conſent to limitations, he becomes immediately king *de jure*, for the ſame reaſon.

THE

THE great advocates for *ſucceſſion*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any regard or conſideration whatſoever, do inſiſt much upon one argument, that ſeems to carry little weight. They would have it, that a *crown* is a prince's birth-right, and ought at leaſt to be as well ſecured to him and his poſterity, as the inheritance of any private man; in ſhort, that he has the ſame title to his kingdom, which every individual has to his property. Now, the conſequence of this doctrine muſt be, that as a man may find ſeveral ways to waſte, miſ-ſpend, or abuſe his patrimony, without being anſwerable to the laws; ſo a king may in like manner do what he will with *his own*; that is, he may ſquander and miſapply his revenues, and even alienate the crown, without being called to an account by his ſubjects. They allow ſuch a prince to be guilty indeed of much folly and wickedneſs; but for theſe he is *anſwerable to God*, as every private man muſt be that is guilty of miſmanagement in his own concerns. Now, the folly of this reaſoning will beſt appear, by applying it in a parallel caſe. Should any man argue, that a phyſician is ſuppoſed to underſtand his own art beſt; that the law protects and encourages his profeſſion; and therefore, altho' he ſhould manifeſtly preſcribe *poiſon* to all his patients, whereof they ſhould immediately die, he cannot be juſtly puniſhed, but is anſwerable only to God: or ſhould the ſame be offered in behalf of a divine, who would preach againſt religion and moral duties: in either of theſe two caſes, every body would find out the ſophiſtry, and preſently anſwer, That altho' common men are not exactly ſkilled in the compoſition or application of medicines, or in preſcribing the limits of duty; yet the difference between *poiſons* and *remedies* is eaſily known by their effects; and common reaſon ſoon diſtinguiſhes between *virtue* and *vice*: and it muſt be neceſſary to forbid both theſe the further practice of their profeſſions, becauſe their crimes are not purely perſonal to the phyſician or the divine, but deſtructive to the public. All which is infinitely ſtronger in reſpect to a prince, in whoſe good or ill conduct the happineſs or miſery of a whole nation is included; whereas

whereas it is of ſmall conſequence to the public, farther than example, how any private perſon manageth his property.

BUT granting that the right of a lineal ſucceſſor to a crown were upon the ſame foot with the property of a ſubject; ſtill it may at any time be transferred by the legiſlative power, as other properties frequently are. The ſupreme power in a ſtate can *do no wrong*; becauſe whatever that doth, is the action of all: and when the *lawyers* apply this maxim to the *king*, they muſt underſtand it only in that ſenſe, as he is adminiſtrator of the ſupreme power; otherwiſe it is not univerſally true, but may be controuled in ſeveral inſtances, eaſy to produce.

AND theſe are the topics we muſt proceed upon to juſtify our excluſion of the young *pretender* in France; that of his ſuſpected birth being merely popular, and therefore not made uſe of, as I remember, ſince the revolution, in any ſpeech, vote, or proclamation, where there was occaſion to mention him.

As to the *abdication* of King James, which the advocates on that ſide look upon to have been forcible and unjuſt, and conſequently void in itſelf, I think a man may obſerve every article of the Engliſh church, without being in much pain about it. It is not unlikely, that all doors were laid open for his departure, and perhaps not without the privity of the Prince of Orange; as reaſonably concluding, that the kingdom might better be ſettled in his abſence. But to affirm he had any cauſe to apprehend the ſame treatment with his *father*, is an improbable ſcandal flung upon the nation by a few bigotted French ſcribblers, or the invidious aſſertion of a ruined party at home in the bitterneſs of their ſouls; not one material circumſtance agreeing with thoſe in 1648; and the greateſt part of the nation having preſerved the utmoſt horror for that ignominious *murder*. But whether his removal were cauſed by his own *fears*, or other mens *artifices*, it is manifeſt to me, that, ſuppoſing the throne to be vacant, which was the foot the nation went upon, the body of the people was thereupon left at liberty to chuſe what form of government they pleaſed, by themſelves, or their repreſentatives.

THAT

THE only difficulty of any weight againſt the proceedings at the revolution, is an obvious objection, to which the writers upon that ſubject have not yet given a direct or ſufficient anſwer; as if they were in pain at ſome conſequences, which they apprehend thoſe of the contrary opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this objection, as it was offered me ſome time ago, with all its advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy gentleman of the nonjuring party *.

THE force of his argument turned upon this, That the laws made by the ſupreme power cannot otherwiſe than by the ſupreme power be annulled: That this conſiſting in England of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative voice, no two of them can repeal or enact a law without conſent of the third; much leſs may any one of them be entirely excluded from its part of the legiſlature by a *vote* of the other two: That all theſe maxims were openly violated at the revolution; where an aſſembly of the *nobles* and *people*, not ſummoned by the King's writ, (which was an eſſential part of the conſtitution,) and conſequenty no lawful meeting, did, merely upon their own authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the throne vacant; and gave the crown by a vote to a *nephew*, when there were three children to inherit; tho', by the fundamental laws of the realm, the next heir is immediately to ſucceed. Neither doth it appear, how a prince's *abdication* can make any other ſort of vacancy in the throne, than would be cauſed by his death; ſince he cannot abdicate for his children, (who claim their right of ſucceſſion by act of parliament,) otherwiſe than by his own conſent, in form, to a bill from the two houſes.

AND this is the difficulty that ſeems chiefly to ſtick with the moſt reaſonable of thoſe, who, from a mere ſcruple of conſcience, refuſe to join with us upon the revolution-principle; but for the reſt are, I believe, as far from loving arbitrary government as any others can be

* Mr. Nelſon, author of the feaſts and faſts of the church of England.

be, who are born under a free conſtitution, and are allowed to have the leaſt ſhare of common good ſenſe.

IN this objection there are two queſtions included. Firſt, Whether, upon the foot of our conſtitution, as it ſtood in the reign of the late King James, a king of England may be depoſed? The ſecond is, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority, after the King had withdrawn himſelf in the manner he did, had power to alter the ſucceſſion?

As for the firſt, it is a point I ſhall not preſume to determine; and ſhall therefore only ſay, that, to any man who holds the negative, I would demand the *liberty* of putting the caſe as ſtrongly as I pleaſe. I will ſuppoſe a prince limited by laws like ours, yet running into a thouſand caprices of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula; I will ſuppoſe him to murder his mother and his wife; to commit inceſt, to raviſh matrons, to blow up the ſenate, and burn his metropolis; openly to renounce God and Chriſt, and worſhip the devil: theſe, and the like exorbitancies, are in the power of a ſingle perſon to commit, without the advice of a miniſtry, or aſſiſtance of an army. And if ſuch a king as I have deſcribed, cannot be depoſed but by his own conſent in parliament, I do not well ſee how he can be *reſiſted*; or what can be meant by a *limited* monarchy; or what ſignifies the people's conſent in making and repealing laws, if the perſon who adminiſters, hath no tie but conſcience, and is anſwerable to none but God. I deſire no ſtronger proof that an opinion muſt be falſe, than to find very great abſurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the preſent caſe: for it is not a bare ſpeculation, that kings may run into ſuch enormities as are above mentioned; the practice may be proved by examples, not only drawn from the firſt Cæſars, or later Emperors, but many modern princes of Europe; ſuch as, Peter the Cruel, Philip II of Spain, John Baſilovits of Muſcovy; and, in our own nation, King John, Richard III. and Henry VIII. But there cannot be equal abſurdities ſuppoſed in maintaining the contrary opinion; becauſe it is certain, that princes have it in their power to keep a majority on their ſide by any tolerable adminiſtration, till provoked by continual oppreſſions;

preſſions; no man indeed can then anſwer where the madneſs of the people will ſtop.

As to the ſecond part of the objection, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority, upon King James's precipitate departure, had power to alter the ſucceſſion?

In anſwer to this, I think it is manifeſt from the practice of the wiſeſt nations, and who ſeem to have had the trueſt notions of freedom, that when a prince was laid aſide for male-adminiſtration, the *nobles* and *people*, if they thought it neceſſary for the public weal, did reſume the adminiſtration of the ſupreme power, (the power itſelf having been always in them), and did not only alter the ſucceſſion, but often the very form of government too; becauſe they believed there was no natural right in one man to govern another, but that all was by inſtitution, force, or conſent. Thus, the cities of Greece, when they drove out their tyrannical kings, either choſe others from a new family, or aboliſhed the kingly government, and became free ſtates. Thus the Romans, upon the expulſion of Tarquin, found it inconvenient for them to be ſubject any longer to the pride, the luſt, the cruelty, and arbitrary will of ſingle perſons; and therefore, by general conſent, entirely altered the whole frame of their government. Nor do I find the proceedings of either, in this point, to have been condemned by any hiſtorian of the ſucceeding ages.

But a great deal hath been already ſaid by other writers upon this invidious and beaten ſubject; therefore I ſhall let it fall; tho' the point is commonly miſtaken, eſpecially by the *lawyers*; who, of all others, ſeem leaſt to underſtand the nature of government in general; like under workmen, who are expert enough at making a ſingle wheel in a clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjuſt the ſeveral parts, or regulate the movements.

To return, therefore, from this digreſſion: It is a *church-of-England man*'s opinion, that the freedom of a nation conſiſts in an abſolute *unlimited legiſlative power*, wherein the whole body of the people are fairly repreſented, and in an *executive* duly *limited*; becauſe on this ſide likewiſe there may be dangerous degrees, and a very ill extreme. For when two parties in a ſtate are

pretty equal in *power*, *pretenſions*, *merit*, and *virtue*, (for theſe two laſt are, with relation to parties and a court, quite different things), it hath been the opinion of the beſt writers upon government, that a prince ought not in any ſort to be under the guidance or influence of either; becauſe he declines, by this means, from his office of preſiding over the *whole*, to be the head of a *party*; which, beſides the indignity, renders him anſwerable for all public miſmanagements, and the conſequences of them; and in whatever ſtate this happens, there muſt either be a weakneſs in the prince or miniſtry, or elſe the former is too much reſtrained by the nobles, or thoſe who repreſent the people.

To conclude: A *church-of-England man* may, with prudence and a good conſcience, approve the profeſſed principles of one party more than the other, according as he thinks they beſt promote the good of church and ſtate; but he will never be ſwayed by paſſion or intereſt to advance an opinion, merely becauſe it is *that* of the party he moſt approves; which one ſingle principle he looks upon as the root of all our civil animoſities. To enter into a party, as into an order of *friars*, with ſo reſigned an obedience to ſuperiors, is very unſuitable both with the civil and religious liberties we ſo zealouſly aſſert. Thus the underſtandings of a whole ſenate are often inſlaved by three or four leaders on each ſide; who, inſtead of intending the public weal, have their hearts wholly ſet upon ways and means how to get or to keep employments. But, to ſpeak more at large, how has this ſpirit of faction mingled itſelf with the maſs of the people, changed their nature and manners, and the very genius of the nation? broke all the laws of charity, neighbourhood, alliance and hoſpitality, deſtroyed all ties of friendſhip, and divided families againſt themſelves? And no wonder it ſhould be ſo, when, in order to find out the character of a perſon, inſtead of inquiring whether he be a man of virtue, honour, piety, wit, good ſenſe, or learning; the modern queſtion is only, Whether he be a *Whig* or a *Tory?* under which terms all good and ill qualities are included.

Now, becauſe it is a point of difficulty to chuſe an exact middle between two ill extremes, it may be worth inquiring,

inquiring, in the preſent caſe, which of theſe a wiſe and good man would rather ſeem to avoid. Taking therefore their own good and ill characters, with due abatements and allowances for partiality and paſſion, I ſhould think, that, in order to preſerve the conſtitution entire in church and ſtate, whoever hath a true value for both, would be ſure to avoid the extremes of *Whig* for the ſake of the former, and the extremes of *Tory* on account of the latter.

I have now ſaid all that I could think convenient upon ſo nice a ſubject, and find I have the ambition common with other reaſoners, to wiſh at leaſt that both parties may think me *in the right*; which would be of ſome uſe to thoſe who have any virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the extravagancies of either, upon falſe repreſentations, to ſerve the ambition or malice of deſigning men, without any proſpect of their own. But if that is not to be hoped for, my next wiſh ſhould be, that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would underſtand as an ample juſtification of myſelf, and a ſure ground to believe, that I have proceeded at leaſt with impartiality, and perhaps with truth.

A PROPOSAL humbly offered to the PARLIAMENT, for the more effectual preventing the further growth of POPERY.

With the deſcription and uſe of the ECCLESIASTICAL THERMOMETER.

Very proper for all families.

Inſani ſanus nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſam.
HOR.

HAVING, with great ſorrow of heart, obſerved the increaſe of Popery among us of late years, and how ineffectual the penal laws and ſtatutes of this realm have been, for near forty years laſt paſt, towards reclaiming that blind and deluded people from their errors, notwithſtanding the good intentions of the legiſlators, and the *pious and unwearied labours* of the many learned divines of the eſtabliſhed church, who have preached to them *without ceaſing*, altho' hitherto without ſucceſs:

HAVING alſo remarked, in his Grace's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, moſt kind offers of his Grace's good offices, towards obtaining ſuch further laws as ſhall be thought neceſſary towards bringing home the ſaid wandering ſheep into the fold of the church; as alſo a good diſpoſition in the parliament to join in the *laudable* work, towards which every good Proteſtant ought to contribute *at leaſt his advice*: I think it a proper time to lay before the public a ſcheme which was writ ſome years ſince, and laid by to be ready on a fit occaſion.

THAT whereas the ſeveral penal laws and ſtatutes now in being againſt Papiſts, have been found ineffectual, and rather tend to confirm than reclaim men from their errors, as, calling a man *coward*, is a ready way to make him fight; it is humbly propoſed,

That

I. THAT the ſaid penal laws and ſtatutes againſt Papiſts, except the law of *Gavelkind*, and that which diſqualifies them for places, be repealed, abrogated, annulled, deſtroyed, and obliterated, to all intents and purpoſes.

II. THAT, in the room of the ſaid penal laws and ſtatutes, all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction be taken from out of the hands of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, and the ſame be veſted in the ſeveral Popiſh archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and archdeacons; nevertheleſs ſo as ſuch juriſdiction be exerciſed over perſons of the Popiſh religion only.

III. THAT a Popiſh prieſt ſhall be ſettled by law in each and every pariſh in Ireland.

IV. THAT the ſaid Popiſh prieſt ſhall, on taking the oath of allegiance to his Majeſty, be intitled to a tenth part or tithe of all things tithable in Ireland, belonging to the Papiſts within their reſpective pariſhes; yet ſo as ſuch grant of tithes to ſuch Popiſh prieſts ſhall not be conſtrued, *in law or equity*, to hinder the Proteſtant clergyman of ſuch pariſh from receiving and collecting his tithes, in *like manner* as he does at preſent.

V. THAT, in caſe of detention or ſubtraction of tithes by any Papiſt, the pariſh-prieſt do have his remedy at law, in any of his Majeſty's courts, in the ſame *manner as now practiſed by the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church*; together with all other eccleſiaſtical dues. And, for their further diſcovery, to vex their people at law, it might not be amiſs to oblige the Solicitor-General, or ſome other able King's counſel, to give his advice or aſſiſtance to ſuch prieſt *gratis*, for which he might receive a ſalary out of the *barrack fund, military contingencies, or contingent datum*; having obſerved the exceedings there better paid than of the army, or any other branch of the eſtabliſhment; and I would have no delay in payment in a matter of this importance.

VI. THAT the archbiſhops and biſhops have power to viſit the inferior clergy, and to exact proxies, procurations, and all other perquiſites, uſual in *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant countries*.

VII. THAT the convocation having been found, by

long experience, to be hurtful to *true religion*, be for ever hereafter abolished among Protestants.

VIII. That, in the room thereof, the Popish archbishops, bishops, priests, deans, archdeacons, and proctors, have liberty to assemble themselves in convocation, and be impowered to make such canons as they shall think proper for the government of the Papists in Ireland.

IX. And, that the secular arm being necessary to enforce obedience to ecclesiastical censure, the sheriffs, constables, and other officers, be commanded to execute the decrees and sentences of the said Popish convocation, with secrecy and dispatch; or in lieu thereof, they may be at liberty to erect an inquisition, with proper officers of their own.

X. That, as Papists declare themselves converts to the established church, all *spiritual power* over them shall cease.

XI. That as soon as any whole parish shall renounce the Popish religion, the priest of such parish shall, for his good services, have a pension of 200 *l. per annum* settled on him for life; and that he be, from such time, exempt from preaching and praying, and other duties of his function, in like manner as *Protestant divines*, with equal incomes, are at present.

XII. That each bishop, so soon as his diocese shall become Protestants, be called *My Lord*, and have a pension of two thousand pounds *per annum* during life.

XIII. That when a whole province shall be reclaimed, the archbishop shall be called *His Grace*, and have a pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, during life, and be admitted a member of his Majesty's *most honourable privy council*.

The good consequence of this scheme (which will execute itself without murmurings against the government) are very visible. I shall mention a few of the most obvious.

I. The giving the priest a right to the tithe would produce law-suits and wrangles; his Reverence, being intitled to a certain income at all events, would consider himself as a legal incumbent, and *behave accordingly*, and apply himself more to fleecing than feeding his flock. His necessary attendance on the courts of justice would leave

leave his people without a *ſpiritual guide*; by which means Proteſtant curates, who have no ſuits about tithes, would be furniſhed with proper opportunities for making converts, which is very much wanted.

II. The erecting a ſpiritual juriſdiction amongſt them, would, *in all probability*, drive as many out of that communion, as a *due execution* of ſuch juriſdiction hath hitherto drove from amongſt ourſelves.

III. An *inquiſition* would ſtill be a further improvement, and moſt certainly would expedite the converſion of Papiſts.

I know it may be objected to this ſcheme, and with ſome ſhew of reaſon, That, ſhould the Popiſh princes abroad purſue the ſame methods, with regard to their Proteſtant ſubjects, the Proteſtant intereſt in Europe would thereby be conſiderably weakened. But, as we have no reaſon to ſuſpect Popiſh counſels will ever produce ſo much moderation, I think the objection ought to have but little weight.

A due execution of this ſcheme will ſoon produce many converts from Popery: nevertheleſs, to the end it may be known when they ſhall be of the true *church*, I have ordered a large parcel of eccleſiaſtical or church *thermometers* to be made, one of which is to be hung up in each pariſh church; the deſcription and uſe of which take as follows, in the words of the ingenious Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq;

THE church-thermometer, which I am now to treat of, is ſuppoſed to have been invented in the reign of Henry VIII. about the time when that religious prince put ſome to death for owning the Pope's ſupremacy, and others for denying tranſubſtantiation. I do not find, however, any great uſe made of this inſtrument, till it fell into the hand of a learned and vigilant prieſt or miniſter, (for he frequently wrote himſelf both the one and the other), who was ſome time vicar of Bray. This gentleman lived in his vicarage to a good old age; and after having ſeen ſeveral ſucceſſions of his neighbouring clergy, either burnt or baniſhed, departed this life with the ſatisfaction of having never deſerted his flock, and died vicar of Bray. As this glaſs was firſt

deſigned

deſigned to calculate the different degrees of heat in religion, as it raged in Popery, or as it cooled and grew temperate in the reformation, it was marked at ſeveral diſtances, after the manner our ordinary thermometer is to this day, *viz. Extreme hot, Sultry hot, Very hot, Hot, Warm, Temperate, Cold, Juſt freezing, Froſt, Hard froſt, Great froſt, Extreme cold.*

It is well known, that Torricellius, the inventor of the common weather-glaſs, made the experiment of a long tube which held thirty two foot of water; and that a more modern virtuoſo finding ſuch a machine altogether unwieldy and uſeleſs, and conſidering that thirty two inches of quickſilver weighed as much as ſo many foot of water in a tube of the ſame circumference, invented that ſizable inſtrument which is now in uſe. After this manner, that I might adapt the thermometer I am now ſpeaking of to the preſent conſtitution of our church, as divided into *High* and *Low*, I have made ſome neceſſary variations both in the tube, and the fluid it contains. In the firſt place, I ordered a tube to be caſt in a planetary hour, and took care to ſeal it hermetically, when the ſun was in conjunction with Saturn. I then took the proper precautions about the fluid, which is a compound of two different liquors; one of them a ſpirit drawn out of a ſtrong heady wine; the other a particular ſort of rock-water, colder than ice, and clearer than cryſtal. The ſpirit is of a red, fiery colour; and ſo very apt to ferment, that, unleſs it be mingled with a proportion of the water, or pent up very cloſe, it will burſt the veſſel that holds it, and fly up in fume and ſmoke. The water, on the contrary, is of ſuch a ſubtile, piercing cold, that, unleſs it be mingled with a proportion of the ſpirits, it will ſink almoſt thro' every thing it is put into; and ſeems to be of the ſame nature as the water mentioned by Quintus Curtius, which, ſays the hiſtorian, could be contained in nothing but in the hoof, or (as the Oxford manuſcript has it) the ſcull of an aſs. The thermometer is marked according to the following figure, which I ſet down at length, not only to give my reader a clear idea of it, but alſo to fill up my paper.

Ignorance.

Ignorance.
Perſecution.
Wrath.
Zeal.
CHURCH.
Moderation.
Lukewarmneſs.
Infidelity.
Ignorance.

THE reader will obſerve, that the church is placed in the middle point of the glaſs, betwen *Zeal* and *Moderation*, the ſituation in which ſhe always flouriſhes, and in which every good Engliſhman wiſhes her, who is a friend to the conſtitution of his country. However, when it mounts to *Zeal*, it is not amiſs; and when it ſinks to *Moderation*, it is ſtill in admirable temper. The worſt of it is, that when once it begins to riſe, it has ſtill an inclination to aſcend, inſomuch that it is apt to climb from *Zeal* to *Wrath*, and from *Wrath* to *Perſecution*, which often ends in *Ignorance*, and very often proceeds from it. In the ſame manner, it frequently takes its progreſs thro' the lower half of the glaſs; and, when it has a tendency to fall, will gradually deſcend from *Moderation* to *Lukewarmneſs*, and from *Lukewarmneſs* to *Infidelity*, which very often terminates in *Ignorance*, and always proceeds from it.

IT is a common obſervation, that the ordinary thermometer will be affected by the breathing of people who are in the room where it ſtands; and indeed it is almoſt incredible to conceive, how the glaſs I am now deſcribing, will fall by the breath of the multitude crying *Popery*; or, on the contrary, how it will riſe when the ſame multitude (as it ſometimes happens) cry out in the ſame breath, *The church is in danger*.

As ſoon as I had finiſhed this my glaſs, and adjuſted it to the above mentioned ſcale of religion, that I might make proper experiments with it, I carried it under my cloak to ſeveral coffeehouſes, and other places of reſort about this great city. At St. James's coffeehouſe the liquor ſtood at *Moderation*; but at Will's, to my extreme ſurpriſe, it ſubſided to the very loweſt mark of the glaſs.

At

At the Grecian it mounted but juſt one point higher; at the Rainbow it ſtill aſcended two degrees; Child's fetched it up to *Zeal*, and other adjacent coffeehouſes to *Wrath*.

It fell in the lower half of the glaſs, as I went further into the city, till at length it ſettled at *Moderation*, where it continued all the time I ſtaid about the Change, as alſo whilſt I paſſed by the Bank. And here I cannot but take notice, that, thro' the whole courſe of my remarks, I never obſerved my glaſs to riſe at the ſame time that the ſtocks did.

To complete the experiment, I prevailed upon a friend of mine, who works under me in the occult ſciences, to make a progreſs with my glaſs thro' the whole iſland of Great Britain; and, after his return, to preſent me with a regiſter of his obſervations. I gueſſed beforehand at the temper of ſeveral places he paſſed thro', by the characters they have had time out of mind. Thus, that facetious divine, Dr. Fuller, ſpeaking of the town of Banbury, near a hundred years ago, tells us, it was a place famous for cakes and *zeal*; which I find by my glaſs is true to this day, as to the latter part of his deſcription; tho' I muſt confeſs, it is not in the ſame reputation for cakes that it was in the time of that learned author; and thus of other places. In ſhort, I have now by me, digeſted in an alphabetical order, all the counties, corporations, and boroughs in Great Britain, with their reſpective tempers, as they ſtand related in my thermometer. But this I ſhall keep to myſelf, becauſe I would by no means do any thing that may ſeem to influence any enſuing election.

The point of doctrine which I would propagate by this my invention, is the ſame which was long ago advanced by that able teacher Horace, out of whom I have taken my text for this diſcourſe. We ſhould be careful not to overſhoot ourſelves in the purſuits even of virtue. Whether *Zeal* or *Moderation* be the point we aim at, let us keep fire out of the one, and froſt out of the other. But, alas! the world is too wiſe to want ſuch a precaution. The terms *High-church* and *Low-church*, as commonly uſed, do not ſo much denote a principle, as they diſtinguiſh a party. They are like

words

POSTHUMOUS SERMONS*.

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1 Epiſtle general of St. John v. 7.

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THIS day being ſet apart to acknowledge our belief in the eternal *Trinity*, I thought it might be proper to employ my preſent diſcourſe entirely upon that ſubject; and I hope to handle it in ſuch a manner, that the moſt ignorant among you may return home better informed of your duty in this great point, than probably you are at preſent.

IT muſt be confeſſed, that by the weakneſs and indiſcretion of buſy (or, at beſt, of well-meaning) people, as well as by the malice of thoſe who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to poſſeſs their own infidelity in ſilence, without communicating it to the diſturbance of mankind; I ſay, by theſe means, it

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AND went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine; and ſet him on his own beaſt, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

AND on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the hoſt: and ſaid unto him, Take care of him; and whatſoever thou ſpendeſt more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

WHICH now of theſe three, thinkeſt thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?

AND he ſaid, He that ſhewed mercy on him. Then ſaid Jeſus unto him, Go, and do thou likewiſe. *Luke* x. 25. *to* 38.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is now in the preſs a propoſal for raiſing a fund towards paying the national debt by the following means. The author would have commiſſioners appointed to ſearch all the public and private libraries, bookſellers ſhops, and warehouſes in this kingdom, for ſuch books as are of no uſe to the owner, or to the public, *viz.* all comments on the holy ſcriptures, whether called ſermons, creeds, bodies of divinity, tomes of caſuiſtry, vindications, confutations, eſſays, anſwers, replies, rejoinders, or ſurrejoinders; together with all other learned treatiſes and books of divinity of what denomination or claſs ſoever: as alſo all comments on the laws of the land; ſuch as reports, law-caſes, decrees, guides for attorneys and young clerks; and, in fine, all the books now in being in this kingdom, (whether of divinity, law, phyſic, metaphyſics, logics, or politics), except the pure text of the holy ſcriptures, the naked text of the laws, a few books of morality, poetry, muſic, architecture, agriculture, mathematics, merchandiſe, and hiſtory; the author would have the aforeſaid uſeleſs books carried to the ſeveral paper-mills, there to be wrought into white paper; which, to prevent damage or complaints, he would have performed by the commentators, critics, popular preachers, apothecaries, learned lawyers, attorneys, ſolicitors, logicians, phyſicians, almanack-makers, and others of the like wrong turn of mind; the ſaid paper to be ſold, and the produce applied to diſcharge the national debt. What ſhould remain of the ſaid debt unſatisfied, might be paid by a tax on the ſalaries or eſtates of *bankers, common cheats, uſurers, treaſurers, imbezzlers of public money, general officers, ſharpers, penſioners, pick-pockets*, &c.

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muſt be confeſſed, that the doctrine of the Trinity hath ſuffered very much, and made Chriſtianity ſuffer along with it. For theſe two things muſt be granted: Firſt, That men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Chriſtianity at all; and, ſecondly, if they can pick out any one ſingle article in the Chriſtian religion which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reaſon, or to the arguments of thoſe bad people who follow the trade of ſeducing others, they preſently conclude, that the truth of the whole goſpel muſt ſink along with that one article. Which is juſt as wiſe, as if a man ſhould ſay, becauſe he diſlikes one law of his country, he will therefore obſerve no law at all; and yet that one law may be very reaſonable in itſelf, altho' he does not allow it, or does not know the reaſon of the lawgivers.

THUS it hath happened with the great doctrine of the *Trinity*; which word is indeed not in Scripture, but was a term of art invented in the earlier times, to expreſs the doctrine by a ſingle word, for the ſake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine then as delivered in holy Scripture, tho' not exactly in the ſame words, is very ſhort, and amounts only to this: That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, are each of them God, and yet there is but one God. For as to the word *perſon*, when we ſay there are three perſons: and as to thoſe other explanations in the Athanaſian creed, this day read to you, (whether compiled by Athanaſius or no), they were taken up three hundred years after Chriſt, to expound this doctrine; and I will tell you upon what occaſion. About that time there ſprang up a hereſy of people called *Arians*, from one *Arius* the leader of them. Theſe denied our Saviour to be God, altho' they allowed all the reſt of the goſpel, (wherein they were more ſincere than their followers among us). Thus the Chriſtian world was divided into two parts, till at length, by the zeal and courage of St. Athanaſius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St. Athanaſius hath ſettled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches; which a'tho' it is uſeful for edification to thoſe who underſtand it, yet ſince it contains ſome nice and

and philoſophical points, which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the Scripture-doctrine, as I have delivered it; becauſe that creed was intended only as an anſwer to the Arians in their own way, who were very ſubtle diſputers.

BUT this hereſy having revived in the world about an hundred years ago, and continued ever ſince; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a looſe to wickedneſs, by throwing off all religion; ſeveral divines, in order to anſwer the cavils of thoſe adverſaries to truth and morality, began to find out farther explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity by rules of philoſophy; which have multiplied controverſies to ſuch a degree, as to beget ſcruples that have perplexed the minds of many ſober Chriſtians, who otherwiſe could never have entertained them.

I muſt therefore be ſo bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of thoſe learned men to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a miſtake.

IT muſt be allowed, that every man is bound to follow the rules and directions of that meaſure of reaſon which God hath given him. And indeed he cannot do otherwiſe, if he will be ſincere, or act like a man. For inſtance, if I ſhould be commanded by an angel from heaven to believe it is midnight at noon-day; yet I could not believe him. So, if I were directly told in Scripture, that *three* are *one*, and *one* is *three*, I could not conceive or believe it, in the natural common ſenſe of that expreſſion; but muſt ſuppoſe, that ſomething dark or myſtical was meant, which it pleaſed God to conceal from me, and from all the world. Thus, in the text, *There are three that bear record*, &c. Am I capable of knowing and defining, what union and what diſtinction there may be in the divine nature, which poſſibly may be hid from the angels themſelves? Again, I ſee it plainly declared in Scripture, that there is but one God; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God, in knowing mens thoughts; in ſaying, *He and his Father are one*; and, *Before Abraham was, I am*. I read, that the diſciples worſhipped him; that Thomas ſaid to him,

My Lord and my God; and St. John, chap. i. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* I read likewise, that the Holy Ghost bestowed the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles; which, if rightly considered, is as great a miracle as any, that a number of illiterate men should of a sudden be qualified to speak all the languages then known in the world; such as could be done by the inspiration of God alone*. From these several texts it is plain, that God commands us to believe there is an union, and there is a distinction; but what that union, or what that distinction is, all mankind are equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the day of judgment, without some new revelation.

BUT, because I cannot conceive the nature of this union and distinction in the divine nature, am I therefore to reject them as absurd and impossible, as I would, if any one told me, that three men are one, and one man is three? We are told, that a man and his wife are one flesh: this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet, literally taken, it is a thing impossible. But the Apostle tells us, *We see but in part, and we know but in part*; and yet we would comprehend all the secret ways and workings of God.

THEREFORE I shall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is positively affirmed in Scripture: That God is there expressed in three different names, as Father,

* In defending the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, perhaps it is always best to insist upon the positive evidence, as the Dean has done in this sermon: for in every question, he who undertakes to obviate objections, must necessarily be foiled by him who puts them. By the human intellect, little more than the surface of things can be known; and therefore speculative objections, which would puzzle an able philosopher, may be easily raised even against those truths which admit of practical demonstration. It was once objected to a philosopher, who was explaining the laws of motion, That there could be no such thing; for that a body must move either in the place in which it *is*, or in the place in which it *is not*; but both being impossible, there could be no motion. This objection the philosopher immediately removed, by walking cross the room. And, if none were to triumph in the strength of popular objections against Christianity, but those who could otherwise shew the fallacy of this against motion, the number of *moral philosophers* among us would probably be very few. *Hawkes.*

ther, as Son, and as Holy Ghoſt; that each of theſe is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and diſtinction are a myſtery utterly unknown to mankind.

THIS is enough for any good Chriſtian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reaſon, altho' the knowledge of it is hid from him.

BUT there is another difficulty, of great importance among thoſe who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with ſeveral other articles of Chriſtianity; which is, That our religion abounds in myſteries; and theſe they are ſo bold to revile as cant, impoſture, and prieſtcraft. It is impoſſible for us to determine, for what reaſons God thought fit to communicate ſome things to us in part, and leave ſome part a myſtery: but ſo it is in fact, and ſo the holy Scriptures tell us in ſeveral places. For inſtance, the reſurrection and change of our bodies are called myſteries by St. Paul; our Saviour's incarnation is another: the kingdom of God is called a myſtery by our Saviour, to be only known to his diſciples; ſo is faith, and the word of God, by St. Paul. I omit many others. So that to declare againſt all myſteries without diſtinction or exception, is to declare againſt the whole tenor of the New Teſtament.

THERE are two conditions that may bring a myſtery under ſuſpicion. Firſt, When it is not taught and commanded in holy writ; or, ſecondly, When the myſtery turns to the advantage of thoſe who preach it to others. Now, as to the firſt, it can never be ſaid, that we preach myſteries without warrant from holy Scripture; altho' I confeſs this of the *Trinity* may have ſometimes been explained by human invention, which might perhaps better have been ſpared. As to the ſecond, It will not be poſſible to charge the Proteſtant prieſthood with propoſing any temporal advantage to themſelves by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of myſteries. Does this myſtery of the *Trinity*, for inſtance, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, bring the leaſt profit or power to the preachers? No; it is as great a myſtery to themſelves, as it is to the meaneſt of

their hearers; and may be rather a cauſe of humiliation, by putting their underſtanding in that point upon a level with the moſt ignorant of their flock. It is true indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herſelf by trading in myſteries, for which they have not the leaſt authority from Scripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur; ſuch as *carnal ſatisfaction, worſhipping of images, indulgences for ſins, purgatory*, and *maſſes for the dead*; with many more. But it is the perpetual talent of thoſe who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedneſs of their lives, to charge *us* with the errors and corruptions of Popery, which *all* Proteſtants have thrown off near two hundred years: whereas thoſe myſteries held by us have no proſpect of power, pomp, or wealth; but have been ever maintained by the univerſal body of true believers from the days of the Apoſtles, and will be ſo to the reſurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail againſt them.

IT may be thought perhaps a ſtrange thing, that God ſhould require us to believe myſteries, while the reaſon or manner of what we are to believe is above our comprehenſion, and wholly concealed from us. Neither doth it appear at firſt ſight, that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous miſtake. We ſee what a mighty weight is laid upon faith both in the Old and New Teſtament. In the former we read, how the faith of Abraham is praiſed, who could believe that God would raiſe from him a great nation, at the very ſame time that he was commanded to ſacrifice his only ſon, and deſpaired of any other iſſue: and this was to him a great myſtery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his diſciples, or reproaching them with the want of it; and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reaſonable: for faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the juſtice, and the mercy of God; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith conſiſts in the conſequence it hath upon our actions: as,

if

if we depend upon the truth and wiſdom of a man, we ſhall certainly be more diſpoſed to follow his advice. Therefore let no man think, that he can lead as good a moral life without faith, as with it; for this reaſon, becauſe he who has no faith, cannot, by the ſtrength of his own reaſon or endeavours, ſo eaſily reſiſt temptations, as the other, who depends upon God's aſſiſtance in the overcoming his frailties, and is ſure to be rewarded for ever in heaven, for his victory over them. *Faith*, ſays the Apoſtle, *is the evidence of things not ſeen*. He means, that faith is a virtue, by which any thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, altho' we do not ſee, nor can conceive it; becauſe by faith we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

IT is an old and true diſtinction, that things may be above our reaſon, without being contrary to it. Of this kind are the power, the nature, and the univerſal preſence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do thoſe who quarrel with myſteries, know of the commoneſt actions of nature? The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the ſmalleſt ſeed, is a myſtery to the wiſeſt among men. If an ignorant perſon were told, that a loadſtone would draw iron at a diſtance, he might ſay, it was a thing contrary to his reaſon, and could not believe before he ſaw it with his eyes.

THE manner whereby the ſoul and body are united, and how they are diſtinguiſhed, is wholly unaccountable to us. We ſee but one part, and yet we know we conſiſt of two; and this is a myſtery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the *Trinity*.

FROM what hath been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that God did never command us to believe, nor his miniſters to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reaſon he hath pleaſed to endue us with; but, for his own wiſe ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he commands; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increaſe our dependence upon him.

IT is highly probable, that, if God ſhould pleaſe to reveal unto us this great myſtery of the *Trinity*, or ſome other myſteries in our holy religion, we ſhould not be able to underſtand them, unleſs he would at the ſame time

time think fit to beſtow on us ſome new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at preſent, and are reſerved till the day of reſurrection to life eternal. *For now*, as the Apoſtle ſays, *we ſee thro' a glaſs darkly, but then face to face.*

THUS, we ſee, the matter is brought to this iſſue; we muſt either believe what God directly commands us in holy Scripture, or we muſt wholly reject the Scripture, and the Chriſtian religion, which we pretend to profeſs. But this, I hope, is too deſperate a ſtep for any of us to make.

I have already obſerved, that thoſe who preach up the belief of the *Trinity*, or of any other myſtery, cannot propoſe any temporal advantage to themſelves by ſo doing. But this is not the caſe of thoſe who oppoſe theſe doctrines. Do *they* lead better moral lives than a good Chriſtian? Are *they* more juſt in their dealings? more chaſte, or temperate, or charitable? Nothing at all of this; but, on the contrary, their intent is to overthrow all religion, that they may gratify their vices, without any reproach from the world, or their own conſcience; and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own opinions; becauſe it is ſome kind of imaginary comfort, to have a multitude on their ſide.

THERE is no miracle mentioned in holy writ, which, if it were ſtrictly examined, is not as much contrary to common reaſon, and as much a myſtery, as this doctrine of the *Trinity*; and therefore we may with equal juſtice deny the truth of them all. For inſtance, it is againſt the laws of nature, that a human body ſhould be able to walk upon the water, as St. Peter is recorded to have done; or that a dead carcaſe ſhould be raiſed from the grave after three days, when it began to corrupt; which thoſe who underſtand anatomy, will pronounce to be impoſſible by the common rules of nature and reaſon. Yet theſe miracles, and many others, are poſitively affirmed in the goſpel; and theſe we muſt believe, or give up our holy religion to Atheiſts and Infidels.

I ſhall now make a few inferences and obſervations, upon what hath been ſaid.

Firſt,

First, It would be well, if people would not lay so much weight on their own reason in matters of religion, as to think every thing impossible and absurd which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reason in the whole course of our lives? *Reason* itself is true and just; but the *reason* of every particular man is weak and wavering, perpetually swayed and turned by his interests, his passions, and his vices. Let any man but consider, when he hath a controversy with another, tho' his cause be ever so unjust, tho' the whole world be against him, how blinded he is, by the love of himself, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right use of his reason, which he so much boasts of, and which he would blasphemously set up to controul the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the mysteries of religion, let them examine and search into their own hearts, whether they have not some favourite sin, which is of their party in this dispute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the gospel. For why do men love darkness rather than light? The Scripture tells us, *Because their deeds are evil*; and there can be no other reason assigned. Therefore when men are curious and inquisitive to discover some weak sides in Christianity, and inclined to favour every thing that is offered to its disadvantage, it is plain they wish it were not true: and those wishes can proceed from nothing but an evil conscience; because, if there be truth in our religion, their condition must be miserable*.

AND therefore, *thirdly*, men should consider, that raising difficulties concerning the mysteries in religion, cannot make them more wise, learned, or virtuous; better neighbours, or friends, or more serviceable to their

* It is an high encomium on reformed Christianity, and a strong argument of its superior excellence, that a corrupt life always inclines men to wish it were not true. It does not appear, that Mahometans and Papists wish their religion to be false in proportion as their lives are immoral; and it is said of Dryden, that not being able to fortify himself in infidelity, he died a Papist. *Hawkes.*

their country; but, whatever they pretend, will deſtroy their inward peace of mind, by perpetual doubts and fears ariſing in their breaſts. And God forbid we ſhould ever ſee the times ſo bad, when dangerous opinions in religion will be a means to get favour and preferment; altho', even in ſuch a caſe, it would be an ill traffic, to gain the world, and loſe our own ſouls. So that, upon the whole, it will be impoſſible to find any real uſe towards a virtuous or happy life, by denying the myſteries of the goſpel.

Fourthly, Thoſe ſtrong unbelievers who expect that all myſteries ſhould be ſquared and fitted to their own reaſon, might have ſomewhat to ſay for themſelves, *if* they could ſatisfy the general reaſon of mankind in their opinions. But herein they are miſerably defective, abſurd, and ridiculous. They ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwallow a camel: they can believe, that the world was made by chance; that God doth not concern himſelf with things below, will neither puniſh vice nor reward virtue; that religion was invented by cunning men to keep the world in awe; with many other opinions equally falſe and deteſtable, againſt the common light of nature as well as reaſon, againſt the univerſal ſentiments of all civilized nations, and offenſive to the ear even of a ſober Heathen.

Laſtly, Since the world abounds with peſtilent books particularly written againſt this doctrine of the *Trinity*, it is fit to inform you, that the authors of them proceed wholly upon a miſtake. They would ſhew how impoſſible it is that *three* can be *one*, and *one* can be *three*: whereas the Scripture ſaith no ſuch thing, at leaſt in that manner they would make it; but only that there is ſome kind of unity and diſtinction in the divine nature, which mankind cannot poſſibly comprehend. Thus the whole doctrine is ſhort and plain, and in itſelf incapable of any controverſy; ſince God himſelf hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner. And therefore many divines, who thought fit to anſwer thoſe wicked books, have been miſtaken too, by anſwering fools in their folly, and endeavouring to explain a myſtery which God intended to keep ſecret from us. And as I would exhort all men to a-

void

void reading those wicked books written against this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious; so I think they may omit the answers, as unnecessary. This, I confess, will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themselves with books, at least of this kind. However, many who do not read themselves, are seduced by others that do; and thus become unbelievers upon trust, and at second hand; and this is too frequent a case: for which reason I have endeavoured to put this doctrine upon a short and sure foot, levelled to the meanest understanding; by which we may, as the Apostle directs, be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear.

AND thus I have done with my subject; which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the occasion of this season, appointed on purpose to celebrate the mysteries of the *Trinity*, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, wherein we pray to be kept stedfast in this faith; and what this faith is, I have shewn you in the plainest manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this: God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not understand. And this is no more, than what we do every day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith we can do no works acceptable to God; for if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our salvation; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire, without giving up our senses, or contradicting our reason. May God, of his infinite mercy, inspire us with true faith in every article and mystery of our holy religion, so as to dispose us to do what is pleasing in his sight: and this we pray through Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the mysterious incomprehensible ONE GOD, be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. *Amen.*

*** This is one of the best sermons in its kind. Dr Swift seems not to have made such a plan his voluntary choice, nor to have built, *sua ex motu*, upon such a basis, but he has completed the superstructure in a most masterly manner. The materials answer the dignity

of the edifice; and the artificer may aſſume great honour, upon the completion of ſo noble, ſo ſimple, and ſo uſeful a pile. The myſterious parts of our religion are apt to have dreadful effects upon weak minds. The general comments upon the ſacred writings, and the ſeveral ſermons upon the moſt abſtruſe points of Scripture, are too often compoſed in the gloomy ſtyle. Damnation, eternal damnation, is placed with all its horror before our eyes; and we are ſo terrified at the proſpect, that fear makes us imagine we can comprehend myſteries, which, on this ſide of the grave, muſt be for ever denied to our limited underſtandings. Swift has taken the ſafeſt, and the propereſt method of expounding theſe *arcana*. He advances every poſition that can be eſtabliſhed upon ſo incomprehenſible a ſubject. He ſuſtains the belief, avows the doctrine, and adapts the matter of faith as well as poſſible to the human capacity. His manner of reaſoning is maſterly, and his arguments are nervous, particularly, where he ſays, "It is highly probable, that if "God ſhould pleaſe to reveal unto us this great myſtery of the "Trinity, or ſome other myſteries in our holy religion, we ſhould "not be able to underſtand them, unleſs he would at the ſame "time think fit to beſtow on us ſome new powers or faculties of "the mind, which we want at preſent, and are reſerved till the "day of reſurrection to life eternal." *p.* 259, 260. *Orrery.*

SERMON II.

ON MUTUAL SUBJECTION.

1 St PETER v. 5.

———*Yea, all of you be ſubject one to another.*

THE Apoſtle having, in many parts of this epiſtle, given directions to Chriſtians concerning the duty of ſubjection or obedience to ſuperiors; in the ſeveral inſtances of the ſubject to the prince, the child to his parent, the ſervant to his maſter, the wife to her huſband, and the younger to the elder; doth here, in the words of my text, ſum up the whole, by advancing a point of doctrine, which at firſt may appear a little extraordinary: *Yea, all of you*, ſaith he, *be ſubject one to another*. For it ſhould ſeem, that two perſons cannot properly be ſaid to be ſubject to each other, and that ſubjection is only due from inferiors to thoſe above them: yet

yet St. Paul hath ſeveral paſſages to the ſame purpoſe. For he exhorts the Romans, *in honour to prefer one another* *; and the Philippians, that in *lowlineſs of mind they ſhould let each eſteem other better than themſelves*†; and the Epheſians, that they ſhould *ſubmit themſelves one to another in the fear of the Lord*‡. Here we find theſe two great Apoſtles recommending to all Chriſtians this duty of mutual ſubjection. For we may obſerve by St. Peter, that having mentioned the ſeveral relations which men bear to each other, as governor and ſubject, maſter and ſervant, and the reſt which I have already repeated, he makes no exception; but ſums up the whole with commanding *all to be ſubject one to another*. From whence we may conclude, that this ſubjection due from all men to all men, is ſomething more than the compliment of courſe, when our betters are pleaſed to tell us, they are our humble ſervants, but underſtand us to be their ſlaves.

I know very well, that ſome of thoſe who explain this text, apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities; and it is probable the Apoſtle may have had a regard to all theſe. But, however, many learned men agree, that there is ſomething more underſtood; and ſo the words in their plain natural meaning muſt import; as you will obſerve yourſelves, if you read them with the beginning of the verſe, which is thus: *Likewiſe ye younger, ſubmit yourſelves unto the elder: yea, all of you be ſubject one to another*. So that, upon the whole, there muſt be ſome kind of ſubjection due from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatſoever. Now, what ſort of ſubjection this is, and how it ought to be paid, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be uſeful, and in ſome manner a ſupport to each other, by which the whole frame of the world under his providence is preſerved and kept up; ſo, among mankind, our particular ſtations are appointed to each of us by Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our power reacheth, towards the good of the whole community.

* Rom. xii. 10. † Philip. ii. 3. ‡ Epiſ. v. 21.

And he who doth not perform that part assigned him, towards advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only an useless, but a very mischievous member of the public; because he takes his share of the profit, and yet leaves his share of the burden to be born by others, which is the true principal cause of most miseries and misfortunes in life. For a wise man who does not assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection, a rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with his labour, are perfect nusances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a respecter of persons, which he assures us he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both, than thousands of their subjects. They depend for every necessary of life upon the meanest of their people: besides, obedience and subjection were never enjoined by God to humour the passions, lusts, and vanities of those who demand them from us; but we are commanded to obey our governors, because disobedience would breed seditions in the state. Thus servants are directed to obey their masters, children their parents, and wives their husbands; not from any respect of persons in God, but because otherwise there would be nothing but confusion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained, by considering the comparison which St. Paul makes between the church of Christ and the body of man: for the same resemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. *The eye*, saith he, *cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it* *. The case is directly the same among

* 1 Cor. xii. 21. 22. 26.

among mankind. The prince cannot ſay to the merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more, thoſe members which ſeem to be more feeble, are neceſſary. For the poor are generally more neceſſary members of the commonwealth than the rich: which clearly ſhews, that God never intended ſuch poſſeſſions for the ſake and ſervice of thoſe to whom he lends them; but becauſe he hath aſſigned every man his particular ſtation to be uſeful in life, and this for the reaſon given by the Apoſtle, *that there may be no ſchiſm in the body.*

From hence may partly be gathered the nature of that ſubjection which we all owe to one another. God almighty hath been pleaſed to put us into an imperfect ſtate, where we have perpetual occaſion of each other's aſſiſtance. There is none ſo low, as not to be in a capacity of aſſiſting the higheſt; nor ſo high, as not to want the aſſiſtance of the loweſt.

It plainly appears from what hath been ſaid, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the ſight of God, farther than according to the goodneſs or holineſs of their lives; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages, are ſo far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring thoſe on whom they are beſtowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleaſed to ſuffer them to be almoſt ingroſſed by thoſe who have leaſt title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himſelf, you will obſerve, that, in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without ſubjects, nor a maſter without ſervants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the doctrine of the text: for where there is a mutual dependence, there muſt be a mutual duty, and conſequently a mutual ſubjection. For inſtance, the ſubject muſt obey his prince, becauſe God commands it, human laws require it, and the ſafety of the public makes it neceſſary. For the ſame reaſons we muſt obey all that are in authority, and ſubmit *ourſelves* not only to the good and gentle, but

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From hence may partly be gathered the nature of that subjection which we all owe to one another. God almighty hath been pleased to put us into an imperfect state, where we have perpetual occasion of each other's assistance. There is none so low, as not to be in a capacity of assisting the highest; nor so high, as not to want the assistance of the lowest.

It plainly appears from what hath been said, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the sight of God, farther than according to the goodness or holiness of their lives; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages, are so far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring those on whom they are bestowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleased to suffer them to be almost ingrossed by those who have least title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himself, you will observe, that, in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot subsist without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without subjects, nor a master without servants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the doctrine of the text: for where there is a mutual dependence, there must be a mutual duty, and consequently a mutual subjection. For instance, the subject must obey his prince, because God commands it, human laws require it, and the safety of the public makes it necessary. For the same reasons we must obey all that are in authority, and submit ourselves not only to the good and gentle, but

alſo to the froward, whether they rule according to our liking or no. On the other ſide, in thoſe countries that pretend to freedom, princes are ſubject to thoſe laws which their people have choſen; they are bound to protect their ſubjects in liberty, property, and religion; to receive their petitions, and redreſs their grievances: ſo that the beſt prince is, in the opinion of wiſe men, only the greateſt ſervant of the nation; not only a ſervant to the public in general, but in ſome ſort to every man in it. In the like manner, a ſervant owes obedience, and diligence, and faithfulneſs, to his maſter; from whom, at the ſame time, he hath a juſt demand for protection, and maintenance, and gentle treatment. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a juſt demand of an alms from the rich man; who is guilty of fraud, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

But this ſubjection we all owe one another, is no where more neceſſary, than in the common converſations of life; for without it there could be no ſociety among men. If the learned would not ſometimes ſubmit to the ignorant, the wiſe to the ſimple, the gentle to the froward, the old to the weakneſſes of the young, there would be nothing but everlaſting variance in the world. This our Saviour himſelf confirmed by his own example; for he appeared in the form of a ſervant, and waſhed his diſciples feet, adding thoſe memorable words, *Ye call me Lord, and Maſter: and ye ſay well; for ſo I am. If I then your Lord and Maſter waſh your feet, how much more ought ye to waſh one another's feet?* Under which expreſſion of waſhing the feet, is included all that ſubjection, aſſiſtance, love, and duty, which every good Chriſtian ought to pay his brother, in whatever ſtation God hath placed him. For the greateſt prince and the meaneſt ſlave are not by infinite degrees ſo diſtant, as our Saviour and thoſe diſciples whoſe feet he vouchſafed to waſh.

And altho' this doctrine of ſubjecting ourſelves to one another, may ſeem to grate upon the pride and vanity of mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digeſted by thoſe who value themſelves upon their greatneſs or their wealth; yet it is really no more than

what

what moſt men practiſe upon other occaſions. For if our neighbour, who is our inferior, comes to ſee us, we riſe to receive him, we place him above us, and reſpect him as if he were better than ourſelves; and this is thought both decent and neceſſary, and is uſually called *good manners*. Now, the duty required by the Apoſtle is only, that we ſhould enlarge our minds, and that what we thus practiſe in the common courſe of life, we ſhould imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatſoever; ſince our Saviour tells us, that every man is our neighbour, and ſince we are ſo ready, in the point of civility, to yield to others in our own houſes, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus ſhewn you, what ſort of ſubjection it is which all men owe one to another, and in what manner it ought to be paid, I ſhall now draw ſome obſervations from what hath been ſaid.

And, *firſt*, A thorough practice of this duty of ſubjecting ourſelves to the wants and infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguiſh in us the vice of pride.

For if God has pleaſed to intruſt me with a talent, not for my own ſake, but for the ſervice of others, and at the ſame time hath left me full of wants and neceſſities, which others muſt ſupply: I can then have no cauſe to ſet any extraordinary value upon myſelf, or to deſpiſe my brother, becauſe he hath not the ſame talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as uſeful to the public as mine; and therefore, by the rules of right reaſon, I am in no ſort preferable to him.

Secondly, It is very manifeſt from what has been ſaid, that no man ought to look upon the advantages of life, ſuch as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a truſt which God hath depoſited with him to be employed for the uſe of his brethren: and God will certainly puniſh the breach of that truſt, tho' the laws of man will not, or rather indeed cannot: becauſe the truſt was conferred only by God, who has not left it to any power on earth to decide infallibly, whether a man makes a good uſe of his talents or no, or to puniſh him where he fails. And therefore God ſeems to have more particularly taken this matter [illegible] moſt certainly reward or puniſh

puniſh us in proportion to our good or ill performance in it. Now, altho' the advantages which one man poſſeſſeth more than another, may in ſome ſenſe be called his property with reſpect to other men; yet, with reſpect to God, they are, as I ſaid, only a truſt; which will plainly appear from hence: If a man does not uſe thoſe advantages to the good of the public, or the benefit of his neighbour, it is certain, he doth not deſerve them, and conſequently that God never intended them for a bleſſing to him; and, on the other ſide, whoever does employ his talents as he ought, will find by his own experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the ſervice of others; for to the ſervice of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly, If we could all be brought to practiſe this duty of ſubjecting ourſelves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general happineſs of mankind. For this would root out envy and malice from the heart of man; becauſe you cannot envy your neighbour's ſtrength, if he make uſe of it to defend your life, or carry your burden; you cannot envy his wiſdom, if he gives you good counſel; nor his riches, if he ſupplies you in your wants; nor his greatneſs, if he employs it to your protection. The miſeries of life are not properly owing to the unequal diſtribution of things; but God almighty, the great King of heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, altho' perhaps intending well themſelves, have often moſt abominable miniſters and ſtewards; and thoſe generally the vileſt, to whom they intruſt the moſt talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world ſee by other mens eyes, but God ſees all things; and therefore whenever he permits his bleſſings to be dealt among thoſe who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude, that he intends them only as a puniſhment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well, if thoſe would conſider this, whoſe riches ſerve them only as a ſpur to avarice, or as an inſtrument to their luſts; whoſe wiſdom is only of this world, to put falſe colours upon things, to call good evil, and evil good, againſt the conviction of their own conſciences; and, *laſtly*, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppreſſion

oppreſſion or injuſtice, in miſrepreſenting perſons and things, or in countenancing the wicked to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, THE practice of this duty of being ſubject to one another, would make us reſt contented in the ſeveral ſtations of life wherein God hath thought fit to place us; becauſe it would, in the beſt and eaſieſt manner, bring us back as it were to that early ſtate of the goſpel, when Chriſtians had all things in common. For if the poor found the rich diſpoſed to ſupply their wants; if the ignorant found the wiſe ready to inſtruct and direct them; or if the weak might always find protection from the mighty; they could none of them, with the leaſt pretence of juſtice, lament their own condition.

FROM all that hath been hitherto ſaid, it appears, that great abilities of any ſort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful ſervants to their neighbour, and the public. However, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really bleſſings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, firſt, what can be a greater honour than to be choſen one of the ſtewards and diſpenſers of God's bounty to mankind? What is there that can give a generous ſpirit more pleaſure and complacency of mind, than to conſider, that he is an inſtrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him, under God, their ſubſiſtence, their ſafety, their health, and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedeſt man upon earth takes a pleaſure in doing good to thoſe he loves; and therefore, ſurely, a good Chriſtian, who obeys our Saviour's command of loving all men, cannot but take delight in doing good even to his enemies. God, who gives all things to all men, can receive nothing from any; and thoſe among men who do the moſt good, and receive the feweſt returns, do moſt reſemble their Creator: for which reaſon St Paul delivers it as a ſaying of our Saviour, that *it is more bleſſed to give than to receive*. By this rule, what muſt become of thoſe things which the world values as the greateſt bleſſings, riches, power, and the like, when our Saviour plainly determines, that the beſt way to make them bleſſings, is to part with

them

them? Therefore, altho' the advantages which one man hath over another, may be called bleſſings, yet they are by no means ſo in the ſenſe the world uſually underſtands. Thus, for example, great riches are no bleſſing in themſelves; becauſe the poor man, with the common neceſſaries of life, enjoys more health, and has fewer cares, without them. How then do they become bleſſings? No otherwiſe, than by being employed in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, rewarding worthy men, and, in ſhort, doing acts of charity and generoſity. Thus likewiſe power is no bleſſing in itſelf, becauſe private men bear leſs envy, and trouble, and anguiſh without it. But when it is employed to protect the innocent, to relieve the oppreſſed, and to puniſh the oppreſſor, then it becomes a great bleſſing. And ſo, laſtly, even great wiſdom is, in the opinion of Solomon, not a bleſſing in itſelf: for *in much wiſdom is much ſorrow*; and men of common underſtandings, if they ſerve God, and mind their callings, make fewer miſtakes in the conduct of life, than thoſe who have better heads. And yet wiſdom is a mighty bleſſing, when it is applied to good purpoſes, to inſtruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counſellor either in public or private, to be a director to youth, and to many other ends needleſs here to mention.

To conclude; God ſent us into the world to obey his commands, by doing as much good as our abilities will reach, and as little evil as our many infirmities will permit. Some he hath only truſted with one talent. ſome with five, and ſome with ten. No man is without his talent: and he that is faithful or negligent in a little, ſhall be rewarded or puniſhed, as well as he that hath been ſo in a great deal.

CONSIDER what hath been ſaid, &c.

*** This ſermon is upon mutual ſubjection, and that duty which is owing from one man to another. A clearer ſtyle, or a diſcourſe more properly adapted to a public audience, can ſcarce be framed. Every paragraph is ſimple, nervous, and intelligible. The threads of each argument are cloſely connected, and logically purſued. But in places where the Dean has the leaſt opportunity to introduce political maxims, or to dart an arrow at the conduct of princes, he never fails to indulge himſelf in his uſual manner of thinking: as will appear from the following quotations. "A

" wiſe

" wise man," says Dr. Swift, " who does not assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection, a rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with his labour, are perfect nusances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a respecter of persons, which he assures us he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both, than thousands of their subjects," *p.* 266. Again, in the same strain, " The best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation; not only a servant to the public in general, but in some sort to every man in it," *p.* 268. But the most extraordinary passage is a covert stroke at the highest order of his brethren the clergy. It runs thus, " The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things; but God almighty, the great King of heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth; who, altho' perhaps intending well themselves, have often most abominable ministers and stewards, and those generally the vilest, to whom they intrust the most talents," *p.* 270. Dark as it is, this paragraph requires no explanation. The author's natural turn of mind breaks forth upon all occasions, and the politician frequently outweighs the divine. If the dictates of such a spirit were capable of forcing their way from the pulpit, what a glorious, what a consistent figure, must Swift have made in the rostrum at Rome, or in one of the portico's at Athens? *Orrery.*

SERMON III.

On the TESTIMONY of CONSCIENCE.

2 COR. i. 12. part of it.

——*For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience.*

THERE is no word more frequently in the mouths of men, than that of *conscience*; and the meaning of it is in some measure generally understood. However, because it is likewise a word extremely abused by many people, who apply other meanings to it, which God al-

mighty

mighty never intended; I shall explain it to you in the clearest manner I am able. The word *conscience* properly signifies that knowledge which a man hath within himself, of his own thoughts and actions. And because, if a man judgeth fairly of his own actions, by comparing them with the law of God, his mind will either approve or condemn him, according as he hath done good or evil; therefore this knowledge or conscience may properly be called both an accuser and a judge. So that whenever our conscience accuseth us, we are certainly guilty: but we are not always innocent, when it doth not accuse us; for very often thro' the hardness of our hearts, or the fondness and favour we bear to ourselves, or thro' ignorance or neglect, we do not suffer our conscience to take any cognisance of several sins we commit. There is another office likewise belonging to conscience, which is that of being our director and guide; and the wrong use of this hath been the occasion of more evils under the sun, than almost all other causes put together. For as conscience is nothing else but the knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing; so it can guide us no farther than that knowledge reacheth; and therefore God hath placed conscience in us to be our director only in those actions which Scripture and reason plainly tell us to be good or evil. But in cases too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there conscience is not concerned; because it cannot advise in what it doth not understand, nor decide where it is itself in doubt: but, by God's great mercy, those difficult points are never of absolute necessity to our salvation. There is likewise another evil, that men often say, a thing is against their conscience, when really it is not. For instance, ask any of those who differ from the worship established, why they do not come to church? they will say, they dislike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like; and therefore it goes against their conscience. But they are mistaken; their teacher hath put those words into their mouth: for a man's conscience can go no higher than his knowledge; and therefore till he has thoroughly examined by Scripture, and the practice of the antient church, whether those points are

blameable

blameable or no, his conſcience cannot poſſibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewiſe ariſen thoſe miſtakes about what is uſually called *liberty of conſcience*; which, properly ſpeaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts; which liberty no one can take from us. But thoſe words have obtained quite different meanings. Liberty of conſcience is now a-days not only underſtood to be the liberty of believing what men pleaſe, but alſo of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already eſtabliſhed, and to be rewarded by the public for thoſe wicked endeavours: and this is the liberty of conſcience which the fanatics are now, openly in the face of the world, endeavouring at with their utmoſt application. At the ſame time it cannot but be obſerved, that thoſe very perſons, who, under pretence of a public ſpirit, and tenderneſs towards their Chriſtian brethren, are ſo zealous for ſuch a liberty of conſcience as this, are of all others the leaſt tender to thoſe who differ from them in the ſmalleſt point relating to government; and I wiſh I could not ſay, that the majeſty of the living God may be offended with more ſecurity than the memory of a dead prince. But the wiſdom of the world at preſent ſeems to agree with that of the Heathen emperor, who ſaid, If the gods were offended, it was their own concern, and they were able to vindicate themſelves.

But altho' conſcience hath been abuſed to thoſe wicked purpoſes which I have already related, yet a due regard to the directions it plainly gives us, as well as to its accuſations, reproaches, and advices, would be of the greateſt uſe to mankind, both for their preſent welfare and future happineſs.

Therefore my diſcourſe at this time ſhall be directed to prove to you, that there is no ſolid firm foundation for virtue, but on a conſcience which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I ſhall firſt ſhew you the weakneſs and uncertainty of two falſe principles, which many people ſet up in the place of conſcience for a guide to their actions.

The firſt of theſe principles is what the world uſually calls *moral honeſty*. There are ſome people who appear very indifferent

indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being juſt and fair in their dealings; and theſe are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of ſuch a man's actions, you ſhall find them to be no other than his own eaſe and intereſt. For example, you truſt a moral man with your money in the way of trade, you truſt another with the defence of your cauſe at law; and perhaps they both deal juſtly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for juſtice, but becauſe their fortune depends upon their credit, and a ſtain of open public diſhoneſty muſt be to their diſadvantage. But, *let* it conſiſt with ſuch a man's intereſt and ſafety to wrong you, and then it will be impoſſible you can have any hold upon him; becauſe there is nothing left to give him a check, or to put in the balance againſt his profit. For, if he hath nothing to govern himſelf by but the opinion of the world, as long as he can conceal his injuſtice from the world, he thinks he is ſafe.

BESIDES, it is found by experience, that thoſe men who ſet up for morality, without regard to religion, are generally virtuous but in part: they will be juſt in their dealings between man and man; but, if they find themſelves diſpoſed to pride, luſt, intemperance, or avarice, they do not think their morality concerned to check them in any of theſe vices; becauſe it is the great rule of ſuch men, that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, where-ever their ſafety, health, and fortune are not injured. So that, upon the whole, there is hardly one vice which a mere moral man may not upon ſome occaſions allow himſelf to practiſe.

THE other falſe principle which ſome men ſet up in the place of conſcience to be their director in life, is what thoſe who pretend to it call *honour*.

THIS word is often made the ſanction of an oath: it is reckoned a great commendation to be a man of ſtrict honour; and it is commonly underſtood, that a man of honour can never be guilty of a baſe action. This is uſually the ſtyle of military men, of perſons with titles, and of others who pretend to birth and quality. It is true indeed, that in antient times it was univerſally underſtood, that honour was the reward of virtue

virtue; but, if such honour as is now-a-days going will not permit a man to do a base action, it must be allowed, there are very few such things as base actions in nature. No man of honour, as that word is usually understood, did ever pretend, that his honour obliged him to be chaste or temperate, to pay his creditors, to be useful to his country, to do good to mankind, to endeavour to be wise or learned, to regard his word, his promise, or his oath: or if he hath any of these virtues, they were never learned in the catechism of honour; which contains but two precepts; the punctual payment of debts contracted at play, and the right understanding the several degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary.

But suppose this principle of honour, which some men so much boast of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to; yet, since the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example, suppose a man, from a principle of honour, should resolve to be just, or chaste, or temperate, and yet the censuring world should take a humour of refusing him those characters, he would then think the obligation at an end. Or, on the other side, if he thought he could gain honour by the falsest and vilest action (which is a case that very often happens), he would then make no scruple to perform it. And God knows, it would be an unhappy state, to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people lodged in such hands; which, however, hath been too often the case.

What I have said upon this principle of honour, may perhaps be thought of small concernment to most of you who are my hearers: however, a caution was not altogether unnecessary; since there is nothing by which not only the vulgar, but the honest tradesman hath been so much deceived, as this infamous pretence to honour in too many of their betters.

Having thus shewn you the weakness and uncertainty of those principles which some men set up in the place of conscience to direct them in their actions, I shall now endeavour to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm

foundation of virtue, but in a conſcience directed by the principles of religion.

THERE is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the actions of men, otherwiſe than by knowing the motives, and grounds, and cauſes of them; and if the motives of our actions be not reſolved and determined into the law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual changes. I will ſhew you what I mean, by an example. Suppoſe a man thinks it his duty to obey his parents, becauſe reaſon tells him ſo, becauſe he is obliged by gratitude, and becauſe the laws of his country command him to do ſo: if he ſtops here, his parents can have no laſting ſecurity; for an occaſion may happen, wherein it may be extremely his intereſt to be diſobedient, and where the laws of the land can lay no hold upon him: therefore, before ſuch a man can ſafely be truſted, he muſt proceed farther, and conſider that his reaſon is the gift of God; that God commanded him to be obedient to the laws, and did, moreover, in a particular manner, injoin him to be dutiful to his parents; after which, if he lays due weight upon thoſe conſiderations, he will probably continue in his duty to the end of his life; becauſe no earthly intereſt can ever come in competition to balance the danger of offending his Creator, or the happineſs of pleaſing him. And of all this his conſcience will certainly inform him, if he hath any regard to religion.

Secondly, Fear and hope are the two greateſt natural motives of all mens actions. But neither of theſe paſſions will ever put us in the way of virtue, unleſs they be directed by conſcience. For, altho' virtuous men do ſometimes accidentally make their way to preferment, yet the world is ſo corrupted, that no man can reaſonably hope to be rewarded in it, merely upon account of his virtue. And conſequently the fear of puniſhment in this life will preſerve men from very few vices; ſince ſome of the blackeſt and baſeſt do often prove the ſureſt ſteps to favour; ſuch as ingratitude, hypocriſy, treachery, malice, ſubornation, atheiſm, and many more, which human laws do little concern themſelves about. But when conſcience placeth before us the hopes of everlaſting happineſs, and the fears of everlaſting

verlasting misery, as the reward and punishment of our good or evil actions, our reason can find no way to avoid the force of such an argument, otherwise than by running into infidelity.

Lastly, Conscience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole trust and confidence in him. Our love of God will inspire us with a detestation for sin, as what is of all things most contrary to his divine nature; and, if we have an entire confidence in him, *that* will enable us to subdue and despise all the allurements of the world.

It may here be objected, If conscience be so sure a director to us Christians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to pass, that the antient Heathens, who had no other lights but those of nature and reason, should so far exceed us in all manner of virtue, as plainly appears by many examples they have left on record?

To which it may be answered: First, those Heathens were extremely strict and exact in the education of their children: whereas, among us, this care is so much laid aside, that the more God has blessed any man with estate or quality, just so much the less in proportion is the care he takes in the education of his children, and particularly of that child which is to inherit his fortune; of which the effects are visible enough among the great ones of the world. Again, those Heathens did, in a particular manner, instil the principle into their children of loving their country; which is so far otherwise now-a-days, that of the several parties among us, there is none of them that seem to have so much as heard whether there be such a virtue in the world; as plainly appears by their practices, and especially when they are placed in those stations where they can only have opportunity of shewing it. Lastly, the most considerable among the Heathens did generally believe rewards and punishments in a life to come; which is the great principle for conscience to work upon: whereas too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us, do, both by their practices and their discourses, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at all of the matter.

Wherefore, since it hath manifestly appeared, that a

religious conſcience is the only true ſolid foundation upon which virtue can be built, give me leave, before I conclude, to let you ſee how neceſſary ſuch a conſcience is to conduct us in every ſtation and condition of our lives.

THAT a religious conſcience is neceſſary in any ſtation, is confeſſed even by thoſe who tell us that all religion was invented by cunning men in order to keep the world in awe. For if religion, by the confeſſion of its adverſaries, be neceſſary toward the well governing of mankind; then every wiſe man in power will be ſure, not only to chuſe out for every ſtation under him, ſuch perſons as are moſt likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewiſe to carry ſome appearance of it himſelf, or elſe he is a very weak politician. And accordingly, in any country, where great perſons affect to be open deſpiſers of religion, their counſels will be found at laſt to be fully as deſtructive to the ſtate as to the church.

IT was the advice of Jethro to his ſon-in-law Moſes, to *provide able men, ſuch as fear God, men of truth, hating covetouſneſs*, and to place ſuch over the people; and Moſes, who was as wiſe a ſtateſman at leaſt as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abilities without the fear of God are moſt dangerous inſtruments, when they are truſted with power. The laws of men have thought fit, that thoſe who are called to any office of truſt ſhould be bound by an oath to the faithful diſcharge of it: but an oath is an appeal to God, and therefore can have no influence except upon thoſe who believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of thoſe that ſeek him, and a puniſher of thoſe who diſobey him: and therefore we ſee the laws themſelves are forced to have recourſe to conſcience in theſe caſes; becauſe their penalties cannot reach the arts of cunning men, who can find ways to be guilty of a thouſand injuſtices, without being diſcovered, or at leaſt without being puniſhed. And the reaſon why we find ſo many frauds, abuſes, and corruptions where any truſt is conferred, can be no other, than that there is ſo little conſcience and religion left in the world; or at leaſt that men, in their choice of inſtruments, have private ends in view, which are very different from the ſervice of the public.

public. Beſides, it is certain, that men who profeſs to have no religion, are full as zealous to bring over proſelytes as any Papiſt or Fanatic can be. And therefore, if thoſe who are in ſtation high enough to be of influence or example to others; if thoſe I ſay, openly profeſs a contempt or diſbelief of religion, they will be ſure to make all their dependents of their own principles; and what ſecurity can the public expect from ſuch perſons, whenever their intereſts or their luſts come into competition with their duty? It is very poſſible for a man who hath the appearance of religion, and is a great pretender to conſcience, to be wicked and a hypocrite; but it is impoſſible for a man who openly declares againſt religion, to give any reaſonable ſecurity that he will not be falſe, and cruel, and corrupt, whenever a temptation offers, which he values more than he does the power wherewith he was truſted. And if ſuch a man doth not betray his cauſe and his maſter, it is only becauſe the temptation was not properly offered, or the profit was too ſmall, or the danger too great. And hence it is, that we find ſo little truth or juſtice among us, becauſe there are ſo very few, who, either in the ſervice of the public, or in common dealings with each other, do ever look farther than their own advantage, and how to guard themſelves againſt the laws of the country; which a man may do by favour, by ſecrecy, or by cunning, tho' he breaks almoſt every law of God.

Therefore to conclude: It plainly appears, that unleſs men are guided by the advice and judgment of conſcience founded on religion, there is no ſecurity that they will be either good ſubjects, faithful ſervants of the public, or honeſt in their mutual dealings; ſince there is no other tie, thro' which the price, or luſt, or avarice, or ambition of mankind will not certainly break one time or other.

Consider what has been ſaid, &c.

*** In this moral eſſay, for I can ſcarce call it a ſermon, the author inſerts ſome very ſtriking obſervations upon falſe notions of honour as are too prevalent in the world. Here the particular paſſage is quoted, beginning thus "The other falſe principle which ſome men ſet up in the place of conſcience" &c. *p. 276. l. 32.* and ending thus, "in order to revenge a fancied

" death of an adverſary," *p.* 277. *l.* 14.—But you muſt be weary of quotations: and in excuſe of thoſe already made, I can only offer, that in comments upon original authors, quotations are often the beſt, and perhaps the only explanations that can fully anſwer the end propoſed. I mean, that the original ſpirit is ſo volatile, as not to admit of the leaſt tranſfuſion. In ordinary compoſitions, the eſſence may be extracted, and the ſubtileſt parts diſtilled: but Swift's ſermons appeared a chymical preparation of ſo extraordinary and penetrating a nature, that I was reſolved to ſend you as much of the ethereal ſpirit as might be ſafely conveyed by the poſt. *Orrery.*

SERMON IV.

ON BROTHERLY LOVE*.

HEB. xiii. 1.

Let brotherly love continue.

IN the early times of the goſpel, the Chriſtians were very much diſtinguiſhed from all other bodies of men, by the great and conſtant love they bore to each other; which altho' it was done in obedience to the frequent injunctions of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, yet, I confeſs, there ſeemeth to have been likewiſe a natural reaſon, the very much promoted it. For the Chriſtians then were few and ſcattered, living under perſecution by the Heathens round about them, in whoſe hands was all the civil and military power; and there is nothing ſo apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderneſs, as a general diſtreſs. The firſt diſſenſions between Chriſtians took their beginning from the errors and hereſies that aroſe among them; many of thoſe hereſies, ſometimes extinguiſhed, and ſometimes reviving, or ſucceeded by others, remain to this day; and having been made inſtruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition of ill-deſigning men, by extinguiſhing

* This ſermon is not in the Dublin edition.

extinguishing brotherly love, have been the cause of infinite calamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Christian world.

The last legacy of Christ was peace and mutual love; but then he foretold, that he came to send a sword upon the earth. The primitive Christians accepted the legacy, and their successors down to the present age have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been, or still continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon those who profess the gospel, than that of brotherly love; which whoever could restore in any degree among men, would be an instrument of more good to human society, than ever was, or will be done by all the statesmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this subject of brotherly love that I intend to discourse at present; and the method I observe shall be as follows.

1. I will inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

2. I will lay open the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

3. I will use some motives and exhortations that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it.

I. I shall inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

This nation of ours hath for an hundred years past been infested by two enemies, the Papists and Fanatics; who each in their turns filled it with blood and slaughter, and for a time destroyed both the church and government. The memory of these events hath put all true Protestants equally upon their guard against both these adversaries; who, by consequence, do equally hate us. The Fanatics revile us, as too nearly approaching to Popery; and the Papists condemn us, as bordering too much on Fanaticism. The Papists, God be praised, are, by the wisdom of our laws, put out of all visible possibility of hurting us; besides, their religion is so general-

ly abhorred, that they have no advocates or abettors among Proteſtants to aſſiſt them. But the Fanatics are to be conſidered in another light: they have had, of late years, the power, the luck, or the cunning to divide us among ourſelves; they have endeavoured to repreſent all thoſe who have been ſo bold as to oppoſe their errors and deſigns, under the character of perſons diſaffected to the government; and they have ſo far ſucceeded, that now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence againſt the ſin or danger of ſchiſm, there will not want too many in his congregation ready enough to cenſure him, as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of mens minds, an enemy to moderation, and diſloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and ſettled diviſion between thoſe who profeſs the ſame doctrine and diſcipline, while they who call themſelves moderate, are forced to widen their bottom, by ſacrificing their principles and their brethren to the incroachments and inſolence of Diſſenters; who are therefore anſwerable, as a principal cauſe of all that hatred and animoſity now reigning among us.

ANOTHER cauſe of the great want of brotherly love, is the weakneſs and folly of too many among you of the lower ſort, who are made the tools and inſtruments of your betters to work their deſigns, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of uſe, and cunning men take the advantage by putting words into your mouths which you do not underſtand: then they fix good or ill characters to thoſe words, as it beſt ſerves their purpoſes: and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why; you often ſuſpect your beſt friends and neareſt neighbours, even your teacher himſelf, without any reaſon, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name which they tell you ſignifieth ſome very bad thing.

A third cauſe of our great want of brotherly love ſeemeth to be, that this duty is not ſo often inſiſted on from the pulpit, as it ought to be in ſuch times as theſe: on the contrary, it is to be doubted, whether doctrines are not ſometimes delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a deſire to be diſtinguiſhed, or a view of intereſt, which produce quite different effects; when, upon occaſions ſet

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apart to return thanks to God for ſome public bleſſing, the time is employed in ſtirring up one part of the congregation againſt the other, by repreſentations of things and perſons, which God in his mercy forgive thoſe who are guilty of.

The laſt cauſe I ſhall mention of the want of brotherly love, is that unhappy diſpoſition towards politics among the trading people, which hath been induſtriouſly inſtilled into them. In former times, the middle and lower ſort of mankind ſeldom gained or loſt by the factions of the kingdom; and therefore were little concerned in them, further than as matter of talk and amuſement: but now the meaneſt dealer will expect to turn the penny by the merits of his party. He can repreſent his neighbour as a man of dangerous principles; can bring a railing accuſation againſt him, perhaps a criminal one; and ſo rob him of his livelihood, and find his own account by that much more than if he had diſparaged his neighbour's goods, or defamed him as a cheat. For ſo it happens, that inſtead of inquiring into the ſkill or honeſty of thoſe kind of people, the manner is now to inquire into their party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly; which proceeding hath made our people in general ſuch able politicians, that all the artifice, flattery, diſſimulation, diligence, and dexterity in undermining each other, which the ſatirical wit of men hath charged upon courts; together with all the rage and violence, cruelty and injuſtice, which have been ever imputed to public aſſemblies; are with us (ſo polite are we grown) to be ſeen among our meaneſt traders and artificers in the greateſt perfection. All which, as it may be matter of ſome humiliation to the wiſe and mighty of this world, ſo the effects thereof may perhaps in time prove very different from what, I hope in charity, were ever foreſeen or intended.

II. I will therefore now, in the ſecond place, lay open ſome of the ſad effects and conſequences which our animoſities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the firſt ill conſequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almoſt driven out all ſenſe of religion from among us; which cannot well be otherwiſe: for

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ſince our Saviour laid ſo much weight upon his diſciples loving one another, that he gave it among his laſt inſtructions; and ſince the primitive Chriſtians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith, by their ſtrict obſervance of that inſtruction; it muſt follow, that, *in* proportion as brotherly love declineth, Chriſtianity will do ſo too. The little religion there is in the world, hath been obſerved to reſide chiefly among the middle and lower ſort of people, who are neither tempted to pride and luxury by great riches, nor to deſperate courſes by extreme poverty: and truly I upon that account have thought it a happineſs, that thoſe who are under my immediate care are generally of that condition. But where party hath once made entrance, with all its conſequences, of hatred, envy, partiality, and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any ſtate or degree of life whatſoever. For if the great men of the world have been cenſured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politics, what a havock of principles muſt they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads? of which indeed the effects are already too viſible and melancholy all over the kingdom.

ANOTHER ill conſequence from our want of brotherly love is, that it increaſeth the inſolence of the Fanatics. And this partly ariſeth from a miſtaken meaning of the word *moderation*; a word which hath been much abuſed, and handed about for ſeveral years paſt. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion; there are many others who diſlike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence. Both theſe ſorts are much commended by the Fanatics for moderate men, ready to put an end to our diviſions, and to make a general union among Proteſtants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by theſe appearances, ſtrengthened with great pretences to loyalty; and theſe occaſions the Fanatics lay hold on to revile the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, and even inſult and oppreſs the clergy, wherever their numbers or favourers will bear them out; inſomuch that one wilful *refractory* Fanatic hath been able to diſturb a whole pariſh for many years together. But the moſt moderate and favoured divines dare not own, that the word moderation

Ser. IV. On [illegible]

moderation with respect to the Dissenters [illegible] applied to their religion, [illegible] dential. No good man [illegible] science they enjoy: [illegible] vine may think better of their state [illegible] or, to speak after the manner of men, [illegible] ceffary, that all Protestants should [illegible] common enemy: [illegible] best known to himself [illegible] all. But [illegible] and determined, [illegible] ledged by all the [illegible] be called, in [illegible] violent. And [illegible] find many moderate [illegible] asked, whether Dissenters [illegible] could according to [illegible] mative: from whence [illegible] the Fanatics have made [illegible] only meant to [illegible] so far as to make room for [illegible] tween. And [illegible] cept that of delivering [illegible] ting of Protestants [illegible]

I shall mention [illegible] attends our state of [illegible] end to all hospitality and [illegible] ence and commerce between [illegible] deed such things [illegible] those of the same [illegible] ed, that men should [illegible] friends: however, [illegible] ry parish and street; the [illegible] the father from [illegible] gainst itself. Men [illegible] passions inflamed, [illegible] spend their time in [illegible] site side: thus every man [illegible] with a million of [illegible] which his older [illegible] themselves are often [illegible] of different parties may [illegible]

ſuſpicion, and jealouſy; watching every word they ſpeak, for fear of giving offence; or elſe falling into rudeneſs and reproaches, and ſo leaving themſelves open to the malice and corruption of informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their trade. And, as a further addition to this evil, thoſe very few, who, by the goodneſs and generoſity of their nature, do in their own hearts deſpiſe this narrow principle, of confining their friendſhip and eſteem, their charity and good offices, to thoſe of their own party, yet dare not diſcover their good inclinations, for fear of loſing their favour and intereſt. And others, again, whom God had formed with mild and gentle diſpoſitions, think it neceſſary to put a force upon their own tempers, by acting a noiſy, violent, malicious part, as a means to be diſtinguiſhed. Thus hath party got the better of the very genius and conſtitution of our people; ſo that whoever reads the character of the Engliſh in former ages, will hardly believe their preſent poſterity to be of the ſame nation or climate.

III. I ſhall now, in the laſt place, make uſe of ſome motives and exhortations, that may perſuade you to embrace brotherly love, and to continue in it. Let me apply myſelf to you of the lower ſort, and deſire you will conſider, when any of you make uſe of fair and enticing words to draw in cuſtomers, whether you do it for their ſakes or your own. And then for whoſe ſakes do you think it is, that your leaders are ſo induſtrious to put into your heads all that party-rage and virulence? Is it not to make you the tools and inſtruments, by which they work out their own deſigns? Has this ſpirit of faction been uſeful to any of you in your worldly concerns, except to thoſe who have traded in whiſpering, backbiting, or informing, and wanted ſkill or honeſty to thrive by fairer methods? It is no buſineſs of yours to inquire, who is at the head of armies, or of councils, unleſs you had power and ſkill to chuſe, neither of which is ever like to be your caſe: and therefore to fill your heads with fears and hatred of perſons and things of which it is impoſſible you can ever make a right judgment, or to ſet you at variance with your neighbour, becauſe his thoughts are not the

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ſame as yours, is not only in a very groſs manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, but likewiſe to endanger your ſouls.

Secondly, In order to reſtore brotherly love, let me earneſtly exhort you to ſtand firm in your religion, I mean the true religion hitherto eſtabliſhed among us; without varying in the leaſt, either to Popery on the one ſide, or to Fanaticiſm on the other: and in a particular manner beware of that word, *moderation*; and believe it, that your neighbour is not immediately a villain, a Papiſt, and a traitor, becauſe the Fanatics and their adherents will not allow him to be a moderate man. Nay, it is very probable, that your teacher himſelf may be a loyal, pious and able divine, without the leaſt grain of moderation, as the word is too frequently underſtood. Therefore, to ſet you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the deſcription of ſuch an one who falſely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate is ſteady in the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, but with a due Chriſtian charity to all who diſſent from it out of a principle of conſcience; the freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abuſed; but never truſted with power. He is ready to defend with his life and fortune the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the Proteſtant eſtabliſhed faith, againſt all invaders whatſoever. He is for giving the crown its juſt prerogative, and the people their juſt liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, That virtue ſhould always attend upon favour, and vice upon diſgrace. Theſe are ſome few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man. Let us now compare it with the deſcription of one who uſually paſſeth under that title.

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one to whom all religion is indifferent; who, altho' he denominates himſelf of the church, regardeth it no more than a conventicle. He perpetually raileth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who he hopeth, and probably upon falſe grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and pro-

perties as himſelf. He thinks the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet this very notion he publiſheth, as his beſt argument to prove him a moſt loyal ſubject. Every opinion in government that differeth in the leaſt from his, tends directly to Popery, ſlavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power, can in his judgment neither have common ſenſe, common honeſty, nor religion. Laſtly, his devotion conſiſteth in drinking gibbets, confuſion, and damnation; in profanely idolizing the memory of one dead prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the aſhes of another.

By theſe marks you will eaſily diſtinguiſh a truly moderate man from thoſe who are commonly, but very falſely, ſo called: and while perſons thus qualified are ſo numerous and ſo noiſy, ſo full of zeal and induſtry to gain proſelytes, and ſpread their opinions among the people, it cannot be wondered that there ſhould be ſo little brotherly love left among us.

Laſtly, It would probably contribute to reſtore ſome degree of brotherly love, if we would but conſider, that the matter of thoſe diſputes which inflame us to this degree, doth not in its own nature at all concern the generality of mankind. Indeed, as to thoſe who have been great gainers or loſers by the changes of the world, the caſe is different; and to preach moderation to the firſt, and patience to the laſt, would perhaps be to little purpoſe. But what is that to the bulk of the people, who are not properly concerned in the quarrel, altho' evil inſtruments have drawn them into it? For if the reaſonable men on both ſides were to confer opinions, they would find neither religion, loyalty, nor intereſt, are at all affected in this diſpute. Not religion, becauſe the members of the church on both ſides profeſs to agree in every article: not loyalty to our prince; which is pretended to by one party as much as the other, and therefore can be no ſubject for debate: not intereſt, for trade and induſtry lie open to all; and, what is further, concerneth only thoſe who have expectations from the public. So that the body of the people, if they knew their own good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their betters to quarrel among

mong themſelves, who might alſo probably ſoon come to a better temper, if they were leſs ſeconded and ſupported by the poor deluded multitude.

I have now done with my text; which I confeſs to have treated in a manner more ſuited to the preſent times, than to the nature of the ſubject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the ſeveral parts and properties of this great duty of brotherly love, the Apoſtle to the Theſſalonians will plead my excuſe. *Touching brotherly love,* (ſaith he,) *ye need not that I write unto you; for ye yourſelves are taught of God to love one another.* So that nothing remains to add, but our prayers to God, that he would pleaſe to reſtore and continue this great duty of brotherly love or charity among us, the very bond of peace and of all virtues.

Nov. 29. 1717.

SERMON V.

The Difficulty of knowing One's Self *.

2 Kings viii. 13. part of it.

And Hazael ſaid, But what, is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?

WE have a very ſignal inſtance of the deceitfulneſs of the heart repreſented to us in the perſon of Hazael; who was ſent to the Prophet Eliſha, to inquire

* The manuſcript title-page of the following ſermon being loſt, and no memorandums writ upon it, as there were upon the others, when and where it was preached, made the editor doubtful whether he ſhould print it as the Dean's or not. But its being found amongſt the ſame papers; and the hand, altho' writ ſomewhat better, having a great ſimilitude to the Dean's, made him willing to lay it before the public, that they might judge whether the ſtyle and manner alſo do not render it ſtill more probable to be his. *Dublin edition.*—I ſhall take no notice of this ſermon, as it is evidently not compoſed by the Dean. Orrery.

of the Lord, concerning his master the King of Syria's recovery. For the man of God having told him that the King might recover from the disorder he was then labouring under, began to set and fasten his countenance upon him of a sudden, and to break out into the most violent expressions of sorrow, and a deep concern for it: whereupon, when Hazael, full of shame and confusion, asked, *Why weepeth my Lord?* he answered, *Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child.* Thus much did the man of God say and know of him, by a light darted into his mind from heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himself so well as the other did, was startled and amazed at the relation, and would not believe it possible, that a man of his temper could ever run out into such enormous instances of cruelty and inhumanity: *What,* says he, *is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?*

AND yet, for all this, it is highly probable, that he was then that very man he could not imagine himself to be: for we find him, on the very next day after his return, in a very treacherous and disloyal manner, murdering his own master, and usurping his kingdom; which was but a prologue to the sad tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the people of Israel.

AND now the case is but very little better with most men, than it was with Hazael. However, it cometh to pass, they are wonderfully unacquainted with their own temper and disposition, and know very little of what passeth within them: for of so many proud, ambitious, revengeful, envying, and ill-natured persons that are in the world, where is there one of them, who, altho' he hath all the symptoms of the vice appearing upon every occasion, can look with such an impartial eye upon himself, as to believe that the imputation thrown upon him is not altogether groundless and unfair? who, if he were told, by men of a discerning spirit and a strong conjecture, of all the evil and absurd things which that false heart of his would at one time or other betray him into, would not believe as little, and

and wonder as much, as Hazael did before him? Thus, for inſtance, tell an angry perſon, that he is weak and impotent, and of no conſiſtency of mind; tell him, that ſuch or ſuch a little accident, which he may then deſpiſe, and think much below a paſſion, ſhall hereafter make him ſay and do ſeveral abſurd, indiſcreet, and miſbecoming things: he may perhaps own, that he hath a ſpirit of reſentment within him, that will not let him be impoſed on; but he fondly imagines, that he can lay a becoming reſtraint upon it when he pleaſes, altho' it is ever running away with him into ſome indecency or other.

THEREFORE, to bring down the words of my text to our preſent occaſion, I ſhall endeavour, in a further proſecution of them, to evince the great neceſſity of a nice and curious inſpection into the ſeveral receſſes of the heart; that being the ſureſt and the ſhorteſt method that a wicked man can take to reform himſelf. For let us but ſtop the fountain, and the ſtreams will ſpend and waſte themſelves away in a very little time: but if we go about, like children, to raiſe a bank, and to ſtop the current, not taking notice all the while of the ſpring which continually feedeth it; when the next flood of a temptation riſeth, and breaketh in upon it, then we ſhall find, that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty, and that we are very little more the better for it, than if we had ſat ſtill, and made no advances at all.

BUT, in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I ſhall ſpeak to theſe following particulars.

1. BY endeavouring to prove, from particular inſtances, that man is generally the moſt ignorant creature in the world of himſelf.

2. BY inquiring into the grounds and reaſons of this ignorance.

3. AND laſtly, By propoſing ſeveral advantages that do moſt aſſuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves.

I. FIRST then, To prove that man is generally the moſt ignorant creature in the world of himſelf:

To purſue the heart of man through all the inſtances

of life, in all its ſeveral windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of ſhapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almoſt impoſſible undertaking: ſo that I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch as have a nearer reference to the preſent occaſion, and do, upon a cloſer view, ſhew themſelves through the whole buſineſs of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent; but whether he repenteth him truly of his ſins or not, who can know it?

Now, the great duty of repentance is chiefly made up of theſe two parts; a hearty ſorrow for the follies and miſcarriages of the time paſt, and a full purpoſe and reſolution of amendment for the time to come. And now, to ſhew the falſeneſs of the heart in both theſe parts of repentance. And,

FIRST, As to a hearty ſorrow for the ſins and miſcarriages of the time paſt: Is there a more uſual thing than for a man to impoſe upon himſelf, by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by caſting a ſevere look into his paſt conduct, and making ſome few pious and devout reflections upon it, and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpoſe, without ever letting it ſtep forth into practice, and ſhew itſelf in a holy converſation? Nay, ſome perſons do carry the deceit a little higher; who, if they can but bring themſelves to weep for their ſins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and ſecurity; never conſidering, that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dreſs of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether milſtone, may as well put on. For tears and ſighs, however in ſome perſons they may be decent and commendable expreſſions of a godly ſorrow, are neither neceſſary, nor infallible ſigns of a true and unfeigned repentance: not neceſſary, becauſe ſometimes, and in ſome perſons, the inward grief and anguiſh of the mind may be too big to be expreſſed by ſo little a thing as a tear; and then it turneth its edge inwards upon the mind; and, like thoſe wounds of the body which bleed inwardly, it generally proves the moſt fatal and dangerous to the whole body of ſin: not infallible, becauſe a very ſmall portion of ſorrow may make ſome tender diſpoſitions melt, and break out into

tears;

tears; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his sins, as he would to bid the last farewel to an old friend, that he was sure never to see again.

But there is still a more pleasant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadness, and a strange kind of unaptness and indisposition to all impressions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly sorry for our sins as we should be, we then pretend to be sorry that we are not more sorry for them; which is not less absurd and irrational, than that a man should pretend to be very angry at a thing, because he did not know how to be angry at all.

But after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance, we expect to make it up in the next; and to that purpose we put on a resolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a house built upon a rock; so that let the floods arise, and the winds blow, and the streams beat vehemently upon it, nothing shall shake it into ruin and disorder. We doubt not, upon the strength of this resolve, to stand fast and unmoved amidst the storm of a temptation; and do firmly believe, at the time we make it, that nothing in the world will ever be able to make us commit those sins over again, which we have so firmly resolved against.

Thus many a time have we come to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, with a full purpose of amendment, and with as full a persuasion of putting that same purpose into practice; and yet have we not all as often broke that good purpose, and falsified that same persuasion, by starting aside, like a broken bow, into those very sins which we then so solemnly and so confidently declared against?

Whereas, had but any other person entered with us into a vow so solemn, that he had taken the holy sacrament upon it, I believe, had he but once deceived us by breaking in upon the vow, we should hardly ever after be prevailed upon to trust that man again, [illegible] still continue to trust our own hearts, against [illegible] and against experience.

This indeed is a dangerous [illegible], and [illegible] course betray all those well meaning [illegible] and folly, who are apt to take religion for a much easier

[illegible]

thing than it is. But this is not the only miſtake we are apt to run into: we do not only think ſometimes that we can do more than we can do, but ſometimes that we are incapable of doing leſs: an error of another kind indeed, but not leſs dangerous, ariſing from a diffidence and falſe humility; for how much a wicked man can do in the buſineſs of religion, if he would but do his beſt, is very often more than he can tell.

THUS nothing is more common, than to ſee a wicked man running headlong into ſin and folly, againſt his reaſon, againſt his religion, and againſt his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do will be an infinite diſparagement to his underſtanding, which at another time he ſetteth no ſmall value upon; tell him, that it will blacken his reputation, which he had rather die for than loſe; tell him, that the pleaſure of the ſin is ſhort and tranſient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of a ſting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him, that this is one of thoſe things for which God will moſt ſurely bring him to judgment, which he pretendeth to believe with a full aſſurance and perſuaſion; and yet, for all this, he ſhutteth his eyes againſt all conviction, and ruſheth into the ſin, like a horſe into the battle; as if he had nothing left to do, but, like a ſilly child, to wink hard, and to think to eſcape a certain and an infinite miſchief, only by endeavouring not to ſee it.

AND now to ſhew that the heart hath given in a falſe report of the temptation, we may learn from this, that the ſame weak man would reſiſt and maſter the ſame powerful temptation, upon conſiderations of infinitely leſs value than thoſe which religion offereth, nay, ſuch vile conſiderations, that the grace of God cannot, without blaſphemy, be ſuppoſed to add any manner of force and efficacy to them. Thus, for inſtance, it would be an hard matter to dreſs up a ſin in ſuch ſoft and tempting circumſtances, that a truly covetous man would not reſiſt for a conſiderable ſum of money; when neither the hopes of heaven nor the fears of hell could make an *impreſſion* upon him before. But can any thing be a *ſurer* indication of the deceitfulneſs of the heart, than *thus* to ſhew more courage, reſolution, and activity, in

an ill cauſe, than it doth in a good one? and to exert itſelf to better purpoſe, when it is to ſerve its own pride, or luſt, or revenge, or any other paſſion, than when it is to ſerve God upon the motives of the goſpel, and upon all the arguments that have ever been made uſe of to bring men over to religion and a good life? And thus having ſhewn that a man is wonderfully apt to deceive and impoſe upon himſelf, in paſſing through the ſeveral ſtages of that great duty, repentance, I proceed now, in the

II. SECOND place, To inquire into the grounds and reaſons of this ignorance, and to ſhew whence it cometh to paſs, that a man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himſelf, ſhould know ſo little of what paſſeth within him, and be ſo very much unacquainted even with the ſtanding diſpoſitions and complection of his own heart. The prime reaſon of it is, becauſe we ſo very ſeldom converſe with ourſelves, and take ſo little notice of what paſſeth within us. For a man can no more know his own heart than he can know his own face, any other way than by reflection: he may as well tell over every feature of the ſmaller portions of his face without the help of a looking-glaſs, as he can tell all the inward bents and tendencies of the ſoul, thoſe ſtanding features and lineaments of the inward man, and know all the various changes that this is liable to, from cuſtom, from paſſion, and from opinion, without a very frequent uſe of looking within himſelf.

FOR our paſſions and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving towards their reſpective objects; but retire now and then into the more dark and hidden receſſes of the heart, where they lie concealed for a while, until a freſh occaſion calls them forth again: ſo that not every tranſient, oblique glance upon the mind, can bring a man into a thorough knowledge of all its ſtrengths and weakneſſes; for a man may ſometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itſelf, as he may behold his natural face in a glaſs, and go away, and ſtraight forget what manner of man he was. But a man muſt rather ſit down, and unravel every action of *the paſt day* into all its circumſtances and particularities, and

and obſerve how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impreſſion it made upon his heart: this done with that frequency and carefulneſs which the importance of the duty doth require, would in a ſhort time bring him into a near and intimate acquaintance with himſelf.

BUT when men, inſtead of this, do paſs away months and years in a perfect ſlumber of the mind, without once awaking it, it is no wonder they ſhould be ſo very ignorant of themſelves, and know very little more of what paſſeth within them, than the very beaſts which periſh. But here it may not be amiſs to inquire into the reaſons why moſt men have ſo little converſation with themſelves.

AND, 1*ſt*, Becauſe this reflection is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed without ſome pain and difficulty. For before a man can reflect upon himſelf, and look into his heart with a ſteady eye, he muſt contract his ſight, and collect all his ſcattered and roving thoughts into ſome order and compaſs, that he may be able to take a clear and diſtinct view of them; he muſt retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impreſſions of ſenſe: and how hard and painful a thing muſt it needs be to a man of paſſion and infirmity, amidſt ſuch a croud of objects that are continually ſtriking upon the ſenſes, and ſoliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them! But,

2*dly*, Another reaſon why we ſo ſeldom converſe with ourſelves, is, becauſe the buſineſs of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to ſpend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus twelve or fourteen years paſs away before we can well diſcern good from evil; and of the reſt ſo much goeth away in ſleep, ſo much in the ordinary buſineſs of life, and ſo much in the proper buſineſs of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more ſerious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect ſort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day; he hath a ſet of thoughts, deſires, and inclinations, which return upon him in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aſide to make room for

for any thing new and uncommon: ſo that call upon him when you pleaſe, to ſet about the ſtudy of his own heart, and you are ſure to find him pre-engaged; either he hath ſome buſineſs to do, or ſome diverſion to take, ſome acquaintance that he muſt viſit, or ſome company that he muſt entertain, or ſome croſs accident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for ſuch a grave employment. And thus it comes to paſs, that a man can never find leiſure to look into himſelf, becauſe he doth not ſet apart ſome portion of the day for that very purpoſe, but fooliſhly deferreth it from one day to another, until his glaſs is almoſt run out, and he is called upon to give a miſerable account of himſelf in the other world. But,

3dly, Another reaſon why a man doth not more frequently converſe with himſelf, is, becauſe ſuch a converſation with his own heart may diſcover ſome vice or ſome infirmity lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himſelf guilty of. For can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man, than to find, that, upon a nearer view, he is not that perſon he took himſelf to be? that he hath neither the courage, nor the honeſty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for inſtance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleaſure ſoſteneth and diſarmeth him into eaſe and wantonneſs? that he hath been at more pains, and labour, and coſt, to be revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the beſt friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himſelf to ſay his prayers without a great deal of reluctancy; and when he doth ſay them, the ſpirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very ſhort time, and he can ſcarcely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked thoughts coming into his head? Theſe are very unwelcome diſcoveries that a man may make of himſelf; ſo that it is no wonder that every one who is already fluſhed with a good opinion of himſelf, ſhould rather ſtudy how to run away from it, than how to converſe with his own heart.

But further, If a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to ſet apart ſome portion of

of the day for that very purpoſe; yet he is ſtill diſabled from paſſing a fair and impartial judgment upon himſelf, by ſeveral difficulties, ariſing partly from prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations. And,

1ſt, THAT the buſineſs of prepoſſeſſion may lead and betray a man into a falſe judgment of his own heart. For we may obſerve, that the firſt opinion we take up of any thing, or of any perſon, doth generally ſtick cloſe to us: the nature of the mind being ſuch, that it cannot but deſire, and conſequently endeavour, to have ſome certain principles to go upon, ſomething fixed and immoveable, whereon it may reſt and ſupport itſelf. And hence it cometh to paſs, that ſome perſons are with ſo much difficulty brought to think well of a man they have once entertained an ill opinion of; and, perhaps, that too for a very abſurd and unwarrantable reaſon. But how much more difficult then muſt it be, for a man who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart, long before he hath either years or ſenſe enough to underſtand it, either to be perſuaded out of it by himſelf, whom he loveth ſo well, or by another, whoſe intereſt or diverſion it may be to make him aſhamed of himſelf? Then,

2dly, As to the difficulties ariſing from the inferior appetites and inclinations, let any man look into his own heart, and obſerve, in how different a light, and under what different complexions, any two ſins, of equal turpitude and malignity, do appear to him, if he hath but a ſtrong inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to is always dreſſed up in all the falſe beauty that a fond and buſy imagination can give it; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumſtances of folly and diſhonour Thus, ſtealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to; and they juſtly think it below the dignity of a man, to ſtoop to ſo baſe and low a ſin: but no principle of honour. no workings of the mind and conſcience, not the ſtill voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any conſiderations whatever, can put a ſtop to that violence and oppreſſion, that pride and ambition, that revelling and wantonneſs, which

which we every day meet with in the world. Nay, it is easy to observe very different thoughts in a man, of the sin that he is most fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For as soon as the appetite is alarmed, and seizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and spreadeth a kind of darkness over the face of the soul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and distinct view of things: but no sooner is the appetite tired and satiated, but the same cloud passeth away like a shadow, and a new light springing up in the mind of a sudden, the man seeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of the sin, than he did before.

And thus having done with the several reasons, why man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, is so very ignorant of what passeth within him, and so much unacquainted with the standing dispositions and complexions of his own heart; I proceednow, in the

III. Third and last place, to lay down several advantages, that do *most assuredly* attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves. And,

1. One great advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a man into a modest and low opinion of himself. For let a man take a nice and curious inspection into all the several regions of the heart, and observe every thing irregular and amiss within him; for instance, how narrow and short-sighted a thing is the understanding! upon how little reason do we take up an opinion, and upon how much less sometimes do we lay it down again! how weak and false ground do we often walk upon, with the biggest confidence and assurance; and how tremulous and doubtful we are very often, where no doubt is to be made! again, how wild and impertinent, how busy and incoherent a thing is the imagination, even in the best and wisest men; insomuch that every man may be said to be mad, but every man doth not shew it. Then, as to the passions, how noisy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous are they! how easily are they stirred and set a-going; how eager and hot in the pursuit, and what strange disorder and confusion

do they throw a man into, ſo that he can neither think, nor ſpeak, nor act, as he ſhould do, while he is under the dominion of any one of them.

THUS, let every man look with a ſevere and impartial eye into all the diſtinct regions of the heart; and, no doubt, ſeveral deformities and irregularities that he never thought of, will open and diſcloſe themſelves upon ſo near a view; and rather make the man aſhamed of himſelf, than proud.

2. A due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves, doth certainly ſecure us from the ſly and inſinuating aſſaults of flattery. There is not in the world a baſer, and more hateful thing, than flattery. It proceedeth from ſo much falſeneſs and inſincerity in the man that giveth it, and often diſcovereth ſo much weakneſs and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is moſt to be blamed. Every man of common ſenſe can demonſtrate in ſpeculation, and may be fully convinced, that all the praiſes and commendations of the whole world can add no more to the real and intrinſic value of a man, than they can add to his ſtature. And yet, for all this, men of the beſt ſenſe and piety, when they come down to the practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themſelves, when they have the good fortune to be ſpoken well of by other perſons.

BUT the meaning of this abſurd proceeding ſeemeth to be no other than this: There are few men that have ſo intimate an acquaintance with their own hearts, as to know their own real worth and how to ſet a juſt rate upon themſelves; and therefore they do not know, but that he who praiſes them moſt, may be moſt in the right of it. For, no doubt, if a man were ignorant of the true value of a thing he loved as well as himſelf, he would meaſure the worth of it according to the eſteem of him who biddeth moſt for it, rather than of him that biddeth leſs.

THEREFORE the moſt infallible way to diſentangle a man from the ſnares of flattery, is, to conſult and ſtudy his own heart; for whoever does that well, will hardly be ſo abſurd, as to take another man's word, before his *own* ſenſe and experience.

3. ANOTHER

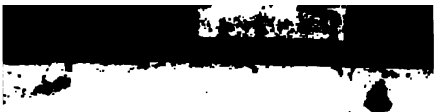
3. ANOTHER advantage from this kind of ſtudy, is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave himſelf patiently, when he has the ill fortune to be cenſured and abuſed by other people. For a man who is thoroughly acquainted with his own heart, doth already know much more evil of himſelf than any body elſe can tell him; and when any one ſpeaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God, that he can ſay no worſe. For could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden receſſes of the heart, he conſidereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there ſee brooding and hovering like a dark cloud upon the face of the ſoul; that there he might take a proſpect of the fancy, and view it acting over the ſeveral ſcenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of luſt, and revenge; that there he might tell how often a vitious inclination hath been reſtrained, for no other reaſon, but juſt to ſave the man's credit or intereſt in the world; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the compoſition of his beſt actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear ſo ſevere a teſt, to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open and expoſed to the view of his enemies? But,

4. AND *laſtly*, Another advantage of this kind is, that it maketh men leſs ſevere upon other people's faults, and leſs buſy and induſtrious in ſpreading them. For a man employed at home, inſpecting into his own failings, hath not leiſure enough to take notice of every little ſpot and blemiſh that lieth ſcattered upon others: or, if he cannot eſcape the ſight of them, he always paſſes the moſt eaſy and favourable conſtruction upon them. Thus, for inſtance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and conſtitution of body? he then conſidereth with himſelf, how hard a thing it is, not to be born down with the current of the blood and ſpirits; and accordingly layeth ſome part of the blame upon the weakneſs of human nature, for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breaſt, tho' perhaps in another inſtance; he remembereth how it rageth and ſwelleth by oppoſition, and tho' it may be reſtrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally ſubdued.

Or, hath the man ſinned out of cuſtom? he then, from his

his own experience, traceth a habit into the very firſt riſe and imperfect beginnings of it; and can tell, by how ſlow and inſenſible advances it creepeth upon the heart: how it worketh itſelf by degrees into the very frame and texture of it, and ſo paſſeth into a ſecond nature; and conſequently he hath a juſt ſenſe of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accuſtomed to do evil.

OR, laſtly, hath a falſe opinion betrayed him into a ſin? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehenſions he hath had of ſome things himſelf; how many opinions that he once made no doubt of, he hath, upon a ſtricter examination, found to be doubtful and uncertain; how many more to be unreaſonable and abſurd. He knoweth, further, that there are a great many more opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he ſtill believeth, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he hath believed them ſo long already without a reaſon. Thus, upon every occaſion, a man intimately acquainted with himſelf, conſulteth his own heart, and maketh every man's caſe to be his own, (and ſo puts the moſt favourable interpretation upon it.) Let every man therefore look into his own heart, before he beginneth to abuſe the reputation of another, and then he will hardly be ſo abſurd, as to throw a dart that will ſo certainly rebound, and wound himſelf. And thus, thro' the whole courſe of his converſation, let him keep an eye upon that one great and comprehenſive rule of Chriſtian duty, on which hangeth not only the law and the prophets, but the very life and ſpirit of the goſpel too; *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them.* Which rule that we may all duly obſerve, by throwing aſide all ſcandal and detraction, all ſpite and rancour, all rudeneſs and contempt, all rage and violence, and whatever tendeth to make converſation and commerce either uneaſy or troubleſome, may the God of peace grant, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, *&c.*

CONSIDER what hath been ſaid, and the Lord give you a right underſtanding in all things. To whom, with the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

The End of the Firſt Volume.